WHEN HOME IS A PRISON CELL:
THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF COMPLIANCE IN HOUSE ARREST

By

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This dissertation examines criminal justice and family as distinct, complex, and competing rationalities, or "worlds" of meaning. The particular instance for examination is in circumstances of home confinement and intensive supervision (ISP) programs for felony offenders. Conventional research locates meaning of compliance and program success in the quantitative aspects of cost effectiveness, crime reduction, and prison overcrowding. This approach ignores the social aspects of living under house arrest. Most importantly, it excludes families in the experience.

In this dissertation, the phenomenon of competing worlds is understood in the sense of a problematic, that is, as a concept which explicates lived experience at the nexus of institutionalized understandings. The thesis of this research is that the meaning of compliance is linked to these competing worlds, and that members draw upon these

differences to produce their versions of what it means to comply. The circumstances of families as well as the organizational meanings imposed through sentencing provide the focus of the research.

The methods applied are varied. Interviews with felony offenders and family members adopt a life stories approach. Narrative analysis is used to examine how meanings are portrayed and strategies are invoked as members talk about their experiences on Community Control, Florida's version of home confinement and intensive supervision. In addition, document analysis, in-depth interviewing, and participant observation provide the basis for constructing an official understanding of institutional control.

While the official version stresses a rationality with underpinnings of consistency and fairness, the family version demonstrates the "irrationality" of criminal justice policies under the circumstances of family living. Controllees describe the experience of Community Control as "worse than prison" as it links to their inability to perform responsibilities to other family members. While the public and official rhetoric link program success to family support, members show how this support is multidimensional and complex and frequently thwarted by policy restrictions.

This author suggests that current trends toward increasing control of families, whether through punishment or rehabilitation modalities, ignores the relationships and responsibilities of controllees as family members and creates undo hardship for members who share the experience of the sentence. A new system that emphasizes connectedness and community within families beyond the confines of households is recommended.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

A Precipitating Event

Several years ago, a close friend of mine was charged with assault with a deadly weapon for shooting his wife's assailant. Fearing a minimum prison sentence of seven to ten years if a jury failed to acquit him, he pled guilty to a lesser charge and was sentenced to two years on Community Control—Florida's name for supervised visitation and home confinement—followed by seven years of probation. Under the terms of Community Control, he was expected to continue working in the food service company of which he and his wife were co-owners; however, most afternoons he left her there alone to close the business and reconcile the books so that he would be home on time for "visuals." He described visuals to me this way in a telephone conversation:

> The control officer doesn't have to talk to me every day. Instead, some days at exactly 6:00 P.M. he'll drive past the house. I'm expected to be home, standing on the front porch. So I wave to him as he drives by. He knows I'm there, though sometimes he circles back later to make sure I haven't gone out. Then again, he might just decide to call me on the phone, so I can't really go outside to wait.

During the two years of his sentence, he and his wife separated. Their marriage was not perfect prior to this event; as he explained, the marriage was "probably doomed long before this." Even so, the intensive supervision and home confinement added to their already complex lives. After she moved out of their home, his non-working hours

were mostly spent alone. He talked frequently of loneliness, isolation, and the frustration of confinement within the physical boundaries of his home.

This man had no children or other family members living with him. But what if he had? Would they have worked around his schedule and his physical restrictions? Would they have reorganized their lives to respect the rules of his confinement, or would they have tried to continue in their own ways? Would they have tried to maintain their routine familial roles, or would they have reconstructed these around a different division of labor or locus of power? Would the required rehabilitative regiments, like the alcohol treatment program that he entered, have motivated a domestic partner or significant other to seek similar treatment? I raised these questions to a fellow graduate student whose father had been on Community Control during the young man's adolescence. As he saw it, the question was not so much would they, but *how* would they.

Establishing the Relevancy of the Question

The question of *how* families adjust to programs of home confinement and intensive supervision is important and increasingly relevant in the light of current trends in criminal justice legislation and policy. Reliance on community based programs, such as home confinement, house arrest, and electronic monitoring, are now a mainstay in the punishment and treatment of criminal offenders at both the federal and state levels in the United States (Allen and Simonsen, 1992; Ball, Huff, and Lilly, 1988; Latessa, 1980; Petersilia, 1988). The impetus for these programs was provided by the Omnibus CrimeControl and Safe Streets Act of 1968, which authorized generous funding to encourage innovative planning at all points of the "corrections continuum" at the state

level. Although some researchers were skeptical, holding that view that in terms of prison reforms "nothing works" (Martinson, 1974), others were far more optimistic. However, as H. G. Moeller (1975) suggests, planning for reform and innovation would need to take into account the general trends already in progress.

> Those who do the planning must take into account the fact that there have been many significant developments in correctional practice which have blurred the sharp lines of jurisdiction which hitherto existed between probation, institutional services, and parole, and which in themselves forecast the possibility of a new alignment of services. (p. 267)

What some people saw cautiously as "blurred boundaries," others embraced as a means of facilitating the states' needs to reduce overcrowding while alleviating growing concerns about public safety. By 1980, Edward Latessa predicted the most significant responsibility of this new alignment would be supervisory rather than custodial, a role that he foresaw as becoming increasingly specialized and focused on surveillance. While prison sentences had, in the past, removed offenders from the community, thereby providing an aura of public safety, innovative programs allowed more and more offenders to gain early release or to serve at least part of their sentences on the "outside." Noting the diversity of the community-based programs, Latessa elaborated on the implications of these reforms:

> Offenders placed on probation and parole may have committed almost any type of criminal offense, and may range from first-time offenders to career criminals. The numbers of offenders placed on probation or released on parole will also vary considerably over time, depending upon the political and fiscal climates in the jurisdiction, existing law in the jurisdiction, size of the prison population, and the prevailing philosophy toward the use of probation and parole. In addition, there is likely to be variation among probationers and parolees with respect to the type and extent of conditions imposed upon them by the court or parole board. Finally, individuals

> being supervised will vary considerably in the types of *problems* which they face (family difficulties, employment, or educational needs, alcohol or drug abuse, etc.). (p. 159; emphasis in the original)

The trends that Latessa forecast in 1980 are continuing through greater formalization and specialization into the present. Yet, the ever-increasing numbers of offenders adjudicated into the criminal justice system has shaped the ways in which "prevailing philosophies" are being expedited and locally experienced.

Today, the trend away from total institutions (Goffman, 1961; Gronfein, 1992) continues, and "deprivatization" extends to all facets of contemporary social life. Gubrium and Holstein (1997) explain deprivatization like this:

> One way of characterizing this is to say that matters of everyday life are interpretively formulated in *public* circumstances. Organizations and their agents make it their business to evaluate our lives and experiences so that they can address, assess, and ameliorate the practical challenges of day-to-day living. In doing so, they become virtual sources of experiential definition—purveyors of social reality, so to speak. (p. 204, emphasis in original)

Moreover the process "is conducted in a virtual plethora of public sites and locations, interpreted from diverse perspectives, more and more of them formally organized" (p. 204). For those felony offenders who are serving sentences under rules of intensive supervision and house arrest, deprivatization includes the imposition of a visible arm of the criminal justice system—the control officer— into the home which has traditionally been coveted as a "private sphere" (Demos, 1979), "a haven in a heartless world" (Lasch, 1977).

As a new form of punishment, these programs create unprecedented dilemmas for offenders and their families, and for the corrections officers who supervise them. These

are the people who live their lives and do their work at the intersection of formal rules and bureaucratic hierarchy on the one hand, and the intersubjective and private world of family experience, on the other. These are the people who work at matters of compliance every day of their confinement and supervision, and provide for us an understanding of what it means when home is a prison cell.

Rethinking Compliance

Conventional studies of community corrections programs have, in general, focused on characteristics of various programs (Renzema, 1992; Clear and Braga, 1994; Palumbo, Clifford, and Snyder-Joy, 1992), program short-comings (Barkdull, 1980), or profiles of offenders (Petersilia and Turner, 1990) in an effort to find "what works" (Martinson,1974). In these studies, a moral understanding of compliance as obedience to organizational mandates is taken for granted, thus the word itself seldom appears in the literature.

Medical studies are more likely to use the word "compliance" to mean following the doctors' orders. In fact, they are likely to suggest the means for accomplishing it. Speaking about the very practical concerns of getting adolescents to wear orthodontic appliances, for example, Richard Alexander (1986) advocates teaching compliance as "an opportunity to accept personal responsibility and succeed in achieving specific objectives" (p. 104).

The epistemological foundations of compliance and obedience are glossed over by a particular stock of knowledge—the general understanding of "what we all know" —in the professions and service agencies (Schutz, 1967). The dominant view is that

compliance is an individual accomplishment, a measured and measurable quantity or quality of success or failure in relation to some desired outcome. In the case of criminal justice, the measured quantities are defined statistically as rearrest, reconviction, subsequent imprisonment, and recidivism (Langan and Conniff, 1992). Framed in this way against a formalized set of rules, officers enforce rules, and offenders either obey rules or "are violated."

Significantly, viewed from this perspective, the system appears one-sided. Offenders are interpretively passive subjects responding *to* the conditions of the system rather than actively participating in defining its terms of action. Officers are functionaries of a regulatory system through which they carry out certain prescribed roles and responsibilities. The individual circumstances of families and family members are ignored (Ansay and Benveneste, in press), their household activities are devalued (Smith, 1987; DeVault, 1991), and their emotional work is discounted (Hochschild, 1983, 1997). Thus families and service workers are deprived of their social sensibilities; they become the objects of a dominant paradigm, objects of a prevailing "disciplinary gaze" (Foucault, 1979, p. 170).

Shifting Perspectives

The everyday world of experience runs counter to the way compliance issues are viewed administratively and in conventional research. For one thing, "rules" in the everyday world are localized and artfully constructed for the circumstances at hand (Garfinkel, 1967). Consider, for example, the following conversation recorded in William Foote Wyte's ([1995) classic ethnography, Street Corner Society. From 1936 to

1940, Whyte lived and observed street life in a working class area of Boston he called "Cornerville." His goal was to report on the social organization of everyday life of habitues in this "other" part of the city, an area stereotypically associated with crime, juvenile delinquency, poverty, and, more generally, social disorganization (Shaw and McKay, 1942). Police officers played an active role in Cornerville society and, as the following comments by an officer demonstrates, the official rules of law enforcement were artfully adjusted to produce neighborhood order.

> We don't judge the efficiency of an officer by the number of arrests he makes. There are so many arrestable offenses committed even by the law-abiding citizen that if the officer made all the arrests that he could, he would be a very, very busy man. If a man makes too many arrests, he isn't doing his job right. Of course, if he doesn't make any arrests at all, we know something is wrong. We rate the efficiency of the man as a variable considering the character of his route and how quiet he keeps it. If a man has a difficult section and he keeps it quiet so that there isn't much violence, places aren't being robbed, and the women aren't being bothered, then we know he is doing a good job. (p. 137)

As Whyte points out, this localized version of rules allows residents in Cornerville to participate in various illegal activities without penalty as long as the social order is maintained. Giving Whyte's account an ethnomethodological turn would have allowed further examination of the cultural production of social order in everyday Cornerville practice. It would have shown *how* the officer narratively constructs a new version of the official role against the horizon of peace-keeping, *how* he links the value of doing a good job to efficient practice. This would have provided us a glimpse into what it means to be a working officer under these circumstances. Approached in this way, the officer's narrative would have reflected the *production* of "the good officer," who practices

compliance within a value system compatible to that of Cornerville— the commonsense world in which he works.

Compliance, therefore, as well as its counterpart noncompliance, are not simply defined or lexically discernable, but rather, are eminently social, ongoing, reflexive practices in which all members participate. Its "rules" are nebulous and circumstantially applied rather than being distinctly formed (Heritage, 1984). Noting the fluidity with which rules are applied in social life, Foucault describes them as practical regularities, or as discursive conventions, that can be "bent to any purpose" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983, p. 110). Yet, as interpretive resources, "rules" are deliberately and artfully invoked by members in social relations (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997). In other words, "rules" are not distinct from the form of compliance they produce.

The Research Theme

In this dissertation, compliance in general is viewed as the rule-work of criminal offenders, their families, and the front-line staff charged with supervision over criminal justice programs and policies (Lipsky, 1984). In particular, it focuses on the activities of everyday life as these members strive to comply with the written terms of their house arrest and the intensive supervision it involves. On the one hand, these people—control officers as well as family members—are subject to a set of formal administrative rules in which compliance is a relatively simple matter of measuring individual behavior in relation to a set of specific conditions established by law and family. In this sense, compliance, measured against the rules by which it is defined, is what Emile Durkheim calls a "social fact"—objective, nonreciprocal, imposed, and unequivocally measurable.

On the other hand, people live their lives in a multiplicity of places, in the systems of logic they construct around themselves through experiences with others. Families are an example of such worlds. Robert Hess and Gerald Handel (1959) use the term "family worlds" in the phenomenological sense that members together form "a bounded universe" around the themes that organize what it means to be a part of this family. As they explain, themes are "pattern[s] of feelings, motives, fantasies, and conventionalized understandings grouped about some locus of concern which has a particular form in the personalities of the individual members" (p. 11). But these patterns are socially constructed and, as such, are practical resources that members use in chronicling the stories of their lives in relation to institutional practices outside of their worlds (Loseke, 1992, Miller, 1991).

Themes are analytical tools as well, focusing our research attention on the ways in which the various logics are practiced, the ways meaning and identity are rational productions of everyday life (Schutz, 1967; Miller, 1991; Gubrium, 1992). A passage from Donileen Loseke's (1992) study of battered women's shelters and the social construction of wife abuse shows that analyzing by themes, or in this case categories, is routine activity in agency work. She records a shelter log entry as follows:

> Crisis line with Margaret, who had been abused by her husband. She said husband came home drunk tonight and started yelling at her and kids. I told her we deal only with emergency physical abuse and since she only wanted shelter for one night, referred her to [another shelter]. (p. 83)

As Loseke makes clear, organizational representatives have a responsibility to make decisions and to be accountable for them.

Yet, discontinuities in logic emerge when "received cultural categories" fail to fit comfortably into the local cultural meanings, as when supervisory personnel and family members talk about criminal justice rules (Chase, cited in Gubrium and Holstein, 1998). Their accounts are different, but both are reasonable within the thematic framework of *their* worlds. The rational processes underlying their narratives, however, frequently go unnoticed until people fail. How is it, then, that failure happens? Why is it that such different narratives of experience are produced by people who seemingly are working toward the same goal—compliance with rules, successful completion of a criminal sentence?

The notion of a "problematic" is central to the work that follows because it provides a way to link the narratives that form the empirical underpinnings of the research method, on the one hand, to a practical interpretation of everyday life, on the other. Dorothy Smith (1987) defines a problematic as "a set of puzzles that do not yet exist in the form of puzzles but are 'latent' in the actualities of the everyday world" (p. 91). She argues that social relations in the everyday world—the site of problematics—are organized by discourses of organizations and institutions which she designates "the ruling apparatus of society" (p. 62), defining problematic as much in terms of everyday life as in terms of theory.

> The concept of problematic is used to relate the sociologist and the sociological inquiry to the experience of members of a society as knowers located in actual lived situations in a new way. It is used here to constitute the everyday world as that in which questions originate. The term "problematic" is ordinarily used to talk about matters at the level of concept or theory rather than at the level of experience and action. . . .The

> concept of problematic explicates a property of the everyday world as a focus for sociological work. (p. 91)

Used in this way, problematic is not a theoretical condition imposed on a subject, nor is it real in the sense of Durkheim's "social fact." A problematic exists in the relation of the data and its conceptualization. We see the problematic in Smith's work used as an organizational resource for analyzing social processes. Smith's everyday experiences locates her subjectively within two conceptually different worlds, those of her work in academia and as a mother to her children. Not infrequently, she notes, these worlds collide, particularly around the inflexibility of school time (p. 192). By examining the particulars of the worlds of work and family as "the problematic of mothers' talk," she calls into question certain basic assumptions, particularly the gendered relations of the discourses, that organize schooling in these worlds (p. 190).

I argue similarly that the formal organization of criminal justice and the informal social relations of families form competing worlds of meaning. These worlds must, in some way, be reconciled when the two systems intersect—and they intersect dramatically in house arrest. This forms an ongoing "problematic" for those concerned, a preexistent dilemma of everyday life as circumstances and "rules" from the two discursive worlds are juxtaposed. What works within a family context is often against the rules of strict supervision and home confinement and, conversely, what works for case officers in fulfilling their court-ordered responsibilities, is likely to make the shared responsibilities of family life an extreme hardship. Yet, all members are accountable for making "the" system function.

In the past we have relied on measurable indicators of accountability that individualize the task of compliance as a behavioral outcome. Conventional research cannot do more than that. Even to include some measure of family support or family resources is based on an administrative understanding of families: families are reified—objectified—according to the purposes of the research or the project. The interactive exigencies of family support are glossed over in the process.

Instead, my research adopts the traditions of ethnography and ethnomethodology in going to the world of everyday life to find meaning. It locates reliability in the experiences of those who have a stake in the production of compliance to criminal justice rules and to their responsibilities as family members. It utilizes the words of people who talk about what they do on a day-to-day basis to be accountable to both systems. It examines these narratives to understand *how* accountability is achieved in practice, *how* members produce satisfactory accounts through "narrative linkages" between one world of meaning and another (p. 166), and *how* they cover the "narrative slippage" (p. 167), or gaps, between the *is* and the *should* in their stories. Answers to these how questions provide the clues to where the storytellers stand in relation to their present circumstances, and can offer researchers and practitioners some direction in making house arrest work in the best interests of all parties concerned.

Developing the Problematic

From an ethnomethodological perspective, the employment of a problematic as a method of theorizing allows the researcher to set aside current assumptions about phenomena—to bracket, or temporarily set aside the questions about their reality (Schutz,

1970) —so that we can observe their social construction. In writing ethnomethodological analyses, bracketing is obtained through the convention of quotation marks. While judgment on the "realness" of the phenomenon is withheld, questions of *how* the everyday experience of the problematic can be examined (Garfinkel, 1967).

For my purposes in the present research, a problematic guides my efforts to locate the experiences of people in relation to Community Control, a unique home-based, prison-level sanction that combines house arrest with rigid prescriptions for the supervision of felony offenders both in the home and in the community at large. The problematic is framed as a question: How do the circumstances of programs of intensive supervision and home confinement shape the experience of compliance at the intersection of competing worlds of meaning? Or, put in more extreme terms, what happens when the formal rules of criminal justice override the codes that organize and regulate "local culture" (Geertz, 1983). As Gubrium (1989) notes, "local culture 'always ineluctably' shapes the reality of troubles" (p. 95), and it is thus that compliance will take on its social shape and functioning.

My immediate concern is with the discursive construction of compliance—the narrated accounts of controllees and family members, corrections officers, supervisors, public defenders and criminal attorneys, substance abuse or sexual abuse and anger management counselors. Drawing from my broader interests in the sociology of knowledge and interpretive sociology, I argue that compliance under the circumstances of Community Control is socially produced by people as they attempt to align the practical activities of everyday life as family with the formal world of the criminal justice system.

Articulating Family Rules

The central principle of family discourse, according to Gubrium and Holstein (1993), "is that the social world and its forms are made concrete and meaningful through everyday talk and interaction, by way of discursive practices" (p. 66). In their seminal work, *What Is Family?* they argue from a social constructionist perspective that particular meanings of family emerge during "familying" activities. In this view, family is not descriptive of a particular form of domestic life, but, instead, "it is a resource—a concept, image or metaphor to be *used*—for responding to the interpretive challenges regarding the status and meaning of social bonds" (Gubrium, 1994, p. 237, emphasis in original).

Contrast the social constructionist understanding of family as an interpretive resource with the definition used in Section 741.28(1) of the Florida Statutes on Domestic Violence (1998).[1] Linking family with household membership, the Statute elaborates the conditions that constitute the legal entity—family:

> 'Family or household member' means spouses, former spouses, persons related by blood or marriage, persons who are presently residing together or who have resided together in the past as a family, and persons who have a child in common regardless of whether they have been married or have resided together at any time.

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[1]Neither family nor community is defined in Florida statutes pertinent to Community Control or in the application of community-based sanctions in general. "Community" only as an adjunct of the broader definition of "community control." F.S. 948.001(2) reads: "'Community control' means a form of intensive, supervised custody in the community, including surveillance on weekends and holidays, administered by officers with restricted caseloads. Community control is an individualized program in which the freedom of an offender is restricted within the community, home, or noninstitutional residential placement and specific sanctions are imposed and enforced."

It is a status definition, pregnant with assumptions. Thus, as Gubrium and Holstein suggest (1990), "[d]omestic order is construed with reference to preexisting, locally available images of family life. . . . Family usage is *organizationally embedded* . . . and reflects any and all organized circumstances of its use" (pp. 116-117, emphasis in original). These authors explain organizational embeddedness in detail:

> The social organization of all settings and circumstances shapes, and is shaped by, descriptive practice within them. The embeddedness of family discourse thus reflects any and all organized circumstances of its use. . . . While circumstances provide interpretive resources for assigning meaning to the familial, embeddedness does not dictate official or formal assignment . . .while their descriptive practices are organizationally conditioned, practitioners of family usage are not "judgmental dopes" [Garfinkel, 1967] who merely react to circumstances and obvious structural imperative. Rather, they are constantly interpreting the recognizable features of everyday life, sifting through cultural instructions, articulating available models with everyday experiences to assemble the coherent social realities they inhabit. (p. 117)

What is needed, then, is a research framework that examines *how* the organizational setting conditions the way members construct realities. Recently, ethnomethodological research has examined how human service workers construct clients to fit the tasks they engage in to accomplish their work (Spencer, 1994; Gubrium, 1992; Holstein, 1992; Miller, 1991; Loseke, 1989). The claim, as articulated by Gubrium, is not that individual conditions are produced by these workers, but rather that "what is made of them as a whole by those who attempt to understand the home in the process of seeking and giving help . . . is increasingly scripted elsewhere" (p. 15).

Repositioning the Discourse

Miller and Holstein (1995) provide an in-depth analysis of challenges to the conditions in which interpersonal interaction is conducted within organizational settings. These authors conducted ethnographic field studies at the offices of a government program designed to help clients on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children.) find employment and other services they need to become economically independent. Miller and Holstein use the concept "dispute domain" to frame their analysis. Dispute domains are not physical spaces; instead:

> A dispute domain consists of the fundamental assumptions, vocabularies, orientations, concerns, and constraints that circumscribe conflictual interactions within particular organizational circumstances. (p. 38)

Miller and Holstein describe domains as "arenas of power" because disputants in relation to the different resources available to them. Ultimately, the staff also controls the final decision as to the services that will be provided to the program applicant. In a similar sense, and especially pertinent to this dissertation, family and criminal justice logics are the nexus of discourse domains, and the analysis of their problems and activities, coping strategies and tactics is the practical work of my research.

Mary Douglas (1986) presents a more cognitive way of looking at organizational embeddedness that incorporates the rational underpinnings of organizational meanings into competing institutional processes. According to Douglas, institutionalized meanings are, in effect, a "thinking" process around which meanings are produced. These processes can virtually "think" families into whatever form they need to support the punitive structuring of criminal justice policy. Conversely, I would argue, family

members use locally available resources to "think" criminal justice meanings into the form they need to be "in compliance" with local values as they live the problematic in their lives. And it is in this way that claims are made (Spector and Kitsuse, 1977) and accountabilities (Scott and Lyman, 1969; Holstein and Jones, 1992) are produced in the everyday practice of Community Control.

To summarize, this dissertation is an examination of families and the criminal justice system as separate worlds of understanding, brought to bear in practice in the "arrested" confines of the home. My thesis is that the meaning of compliance is linked in discursive practice to these competing worlds, and that members draw upon their differences to produce versions of what it means to comply. Thus, compliance emerges out of the everyday work of reconciling two competing worlds of meaning. It is not simply the individual accomplishment of an offender in relation to a set of rules. In that sense, compliance has a floating definitional horizon against which members construct their views of reality at stake in their lives.

The Organization of the Dissertation

In the next chapter, I provide the historical background of Community Control, showing the increasing formalization of rules of punishment against the practical concerns of prison overcrowding and increasing costs of incarceration leads to the "need" for house arrest. I locate Florida's program of Community Control within that context, and describe it in greater detail. I present a review of the conventional literature that conditions the way in which criminal justice policies are designed. The chapter then shifts in emphasis to examine underlying rationalities and institutionalism from a social

constructionist perspective linking that, finally, to Foucault's argument of a disciplinary society.

Chapter 3 elaborates the methodology and situates the study locally. Although I present a profile of my subjects from official data, further descriptions of the programs and local policies and procedures come from subjective accounts of workers in the field. I use their words to describe the people who are the focus of this research . In that sense, my work follows traditions of ethnography that emphasize seeing the field in place and time from its participants viewpoints. Using narratives of the various officers of the court along with those of offenders and family members, I present Community Control in the participants' own words.

The chapter makes practical use of themes that emerged during my conversations with service workers prior to family interviews. As accounts linking the local conditions of the field and the lived borders of experience, the descriptions of Community Control and the individuals categorized as controllees are particularly important to the analysis that follows in that they provide the various lenses from which the analytical work of the dissertation is done.

In Chapter 4, the field blossoms to include the broader version of "worlds" elucidated earlier. It focuses on the construction of an officer persona. Specifically, I ask: How do they do it? Why do they do it? I examine role construction and the claims to legitimacy made about it. I show that the construction of a caseworker persona is a necessary part of dealing with everyday life in the circumstances of house arrest.

Even within the context of officer/offender relations, the world is not homogeneous. Officers have different orientations to their roles. While some believe in strict adherence to rules, others try to create a supportive environment. Yet even these orientations vary among different officers and different families. In Chapter 4, I examine the social construction of an "official persona," from the perspectives of officers and their supervisors, the as articulated by controllees in their interviews.

Chapter 5 focuses on how family members figure in: How do controllees and other family members see "family"? How do they construe domestic order in their everyday lives? How does the everyday rhetoric of family shape the ways in which compliance straddles worlds?

The system of criminal justice competes with the local meaning of family as a unity organized around a rule-like system of interpersonal obligations. The emergent themes, therefore, articulate the overlap of two very different rule systems. Many of the stories portray a new world of stress. In Chapter 6, therefore, I examine more closely the social meaning of interpersonal responsibility and, within that framework, show how these responsibilities compete with the restrictions of Community Control in producing the stress that fills members' lives. Chapter 7 looks once again at the linkages of criminal justice and family, this time focusing on the particular uses of time and space in the application of punishment. I show how time and space are used as technologies, that is, as devices specifically applied to facilitate the authority of the criminal justice system, to create what I will refer to as a new panopticism. I compare this panoptic structure to that of the jail or prison cell demonstrating controllees' claims that Community Control is

harder than institutional incarceration. I show support to members' who argue that, in its expropriation of domestic space and time, Community Control punishes families.

In the final chapter, I summarize my project and make an argument for rethinking policy at the intersection of criminal justice and family. Analysis of criminal justice and family illuminates the way in which locally organized rules are intersubjectively used to produce compliance as ongoing, practical concern of members. I argue that the analysis has produced a third system in that it has produced knowledge of *how* the competing systems are tied together around the meaning of compliance. This alternative system has new rules that bind criminal justice and families. These are the rules upon which programs for criminal offenders should be built. I offer suggestions in this direction.

CHAPTER 2
THE FRAMEWORK OF PROGRAMS AND POLICIES

> [One should look for the] multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies. It is this distribution that we must construct, with the things said and those concealed, the enunciations required and those forbidden, that it comprises; with the variants and different effects—according to who is speaking, his position of power, the institutional context within which he happens to be situated—that it implies; and with the shifts and reutilizations of identical formulas for contrary objectives that it also utilizes. (Ferguson, 1984, p. 60)

The following section provides a brief account of a significant shift that occurred in programs of punishment since the 1950s, marking the beginning of the end of a period of reliance on state-run "total institutions" (Goffman, 1961). It demonstrates a shift in the siting of punishment and rehabilitation from the institution to the community, and the extension of the "disciplinary society" (Foucault, 1979, p. 216) into what is metaphorically described by some as the private sphere. It is important to the problematic of this dissertation in that here, at this re-siting of criminal justice authority, everyday life is experienced within competing worlds of understanding as conditioned by the same discourses that produce it.

The Shift to Community-Based Punishment

Prior to the 1950s, public sentiment favored legislation and court decisions as a means to solving issues of crime and delinquency, and the dominant correctional

philosophy preferred a treatment approach to criminal sentencing in which "[p]risons came to be compared with mental hospitals while parole authorities were seen as diagnostic experts (Travis, Schwartz, and Clear, 1990, p. 23). By the mid 1960s, the political climate had shifted from a rehabilitation philosophy back to a search for environmental causes for crime. Although offenders were found guilty of committing crimes, public sentiment supported the view that social inequities were, at least in part, to blame. At the same time, greater emphasis was being placed on local treatment programs for offenders. To insure that judges and parole boards would utilize alternative sanctions aimed at rehabilitation instead of relying on the use of prisons, many states introduced sentencing reforms designed to limit judicial discretion.

Framed as sentencing guidelines, these reforms usually included some form of determinate, or fixed, sentencing that provided "a relatively narrow range of fixed penalties for each crime," and some kind of formula for "good time" early release credits (Messinger, Sheldon, and Johnson, 1978). Speaking at the Special Conference on Determinate Sentencing at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1978 in support of reform goals to reduce the number of prison sentences, Norval Morris (1978), Dean of the School of Law at the University of Chicago, asked: "What, for this purpose, is a prison? . . . Behavior in a cage is not a guide to behavior in a community" (p. 4). As the quote from Dean Morris implies, the goal of rehabilitation was to reintegrate offenders into their communities as quickly as possible. By specifying terms and rewarding good behavior in prison, inmates would learn the merits of conformity to social norms.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, most states had instituted affirmative efforts to reduce the custodial emphasis of large-scale public institutions of all kinds. Supported by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 which authorized funding for local correctional facilities and rehabilitative programming, many local governments were able to demonstrate a reduction in the numbers of criminal cases referred to the state level (Lemert and Dill, 1978). The theoretical underpinnings of this new direction in punishment are expressed in a report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice:

> The general underlying premise for the new directions in corrections is that crime and delinquency are symptoms of failure and disorganization of the community as well as of individual offenders. In particular, these failures are seen as depriving offenders of contact with the institutions that are basically responsible for assuring development of law-abiding conduct: sound family life, good schools, employment, recreational opportunities, and desirable companions, to name only some of the more direct influences. (Palumbo, Clifford, and Snyder-Joy, 1992)

Although these efforts showed no greater statistical success at rehabilitation than earlier initiatives, they temporarily reduced the number of commitments to institutions and provided a cost-effective way to keep offenders close to home. Also, and importantly for the current argument, the rehabilitation model gave case officers professional status with more judicial discretion and broader responsibility in handling their clients' treatment programs. These programs were scattered throughout the local communities and, in that sense, represented new efforts at community control.

By the 1980s, utilitarian needs—escalating crime rates, prison overcrowding, and the increasing costs of incarceration—particularly in state institutions, conditioned greater

reliance on probation systems to provide outside, that is, noninstitutional, monitoring of offenders. In turn, the types of offenders ordered into probation programs shifted from relatively minor, nonviolent property offenders to more violent types. For example, by 1988, 40% of the 114,000 offenders sentenced to probation in California had been convicted of felony offences; of these, 15% were for violent crimes (Petersilia and Turner, 1990). Addressing the problems of high caseloads, high costs, and inadequate supervision in their institutions, the State of California inaugurated pilot programs of Intensive Supervisory Probation (ISP) in three counties. The program goals were stated in simple, attractive rhetoric designed to appeal to the growing politically conservative constituency that called for retribution for victims, punishment for criminals, and "safe streets" for the general public. These kinds of programs, therefore, would "hold a middle ground between traditional routine probation in terms of punitiveness, the degree of safety afforded the public, and cost" (p. 611). In effect, however, ISP introduced a new, more stringent level of punishment—just deserts—without treatment (Renzema, 1992; Palumbo, Clifford, and Snyder-Joy, 1992; Clear and Braga, 1994).

There were many professionals in the criminal justice system who, instead of entering debates on treatment versus punishment, began speaking of "diversionary" alternatives to incarceration. The following quote from an Assistant Director of the California Department of Corrections provides an example of the rhetoric applied against more traditional reliance on mandatory prison sentencing.

> Advocates of mandatory prison sentencing equate the 'certainty of punishment' and it's presumed deterrent effect with commitment to prison. This is inaccurate on a least two counts. First it assumes that

> criminals are caught and [secondly that they are] convicted. (Barkdull, 1980, p. 150)

This, however, was usually not the case. Citing California statistics to show that "the odds would have been almost seven to one" against conviction following arrest, Barkdull continues:

> With these odds operating, few criminals will be deterred by the remote possibility of a mandatory prison sentence if they get caught and if they get convicted. . . . Second, equating punishment solely with prison ignores the reality that probation sentences or other available sanctions are or can be punishment. (p. 150)

Instead of building more prisons, Barkdull suggested a greater allocation of resources to probation departments; new levels of control could be invoked as intermediary between the current low-level supervision of probation which failed to provide any "positive symbolic function" and the total institution of prison. For the first time, victim's rights were introduced into the rhetoric of social control: "The victim wants satisfaction. He wants his property restored and some retributive penalty assessed on the offender" (p. 151). And finally, Barkdull notes that it is not only the assurance of punishment for perpetrators that intensive supervision probation offers to victims, it is control, total control of the offender at a level that constitutes a loss of personal freedom:

> . . . but we do know more than just how to punish—and probation can do that. We know how to control. . . . Probation conditions can govern the residence of the offender, inhibit his movements, require him to report regularly, avoid improper companions, persons, or area; forbid him from drinking or drinking to excess; require his participation in anti-alcohol treatments; compel participation in anti-narcotic testing; regulate in installment purchases; require psychiatric treatment and even—in California, at least—can include a period in jail as a condition of probation. (p.153)

Political conservatism, with an ideological bias toward punishment, was manifested earlier, and even more dramatically, at the national level already in the late 1970s when the first federal mandatory sentencing laws were enacted. Under these regulations, passed overwhelmingly by legislative majorities, the court and its officers would be subjected to greater public scrutiny and accountability. For example, judges were mandated to provide written justification whenever they sentenced a felony offender to regular probation instead of prison (Barkdull, 1980). Other later laws were designed to allow court watchers greater access to the decision-making process from which to gather evidence of those judges who were "soft on crime." Despite these greater controls legislated against the court, local judges (elected officials) voiced little opposition to the curtailment of their discretion. Nor did probation officers or supervisors refute the accusations of leniency and fiscal inefficiency leveled against them, despite evidence that existing probation programs, if not effective in reducing recidivism, were already cost effective (p. 150). Slowly and insidiously, punitive reforms emphasizing payments and penalties eroded the legislative boundaries between private and public worlds and conditioned the shift from incarceration to treatment and punishment on the outside.

The patterns of deprivatization have continued through the past two decades, although the emphasis has shifted. In the emergent "get tough" rhetoric of the 1980s and continuing into the 1990s, treatment is subordinated to punishment and punishment dominates control. Operationalized as intensive supervision, this punitive form of control is inscribed by law and policy. Implemented as home confinement, or house arrest,

intensive supervision constitutes a visible presence of the criminal justice system within the traditional space of home and family.

Community Control in Florida

Community Control, Florida's version of home confinement and intensive supervision, is exemplary of deprivatization, a phenomenon best represented in writing as a hyphenated version of family: "the-family-according-to-this-agency" (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997). Yet, as I illustrate in the following section, family as a lived reality was considered only peripherally in the legislation and implementation of house arrest programs.

The term "community control" is used among corrections professionals and social service practitioners in Florida to cover a variety of programs for juvenile offenders as well as adult misdemeanants and felons. In general, the adult programs are described in the rhetoric of criminal justice as "intermediate sanctions," that is, designed to divert convicted offenders from incarceration in jails, prisons, or treatment centers. Collectively, these community-based programs are referred to as home confinement, house arrest, intensive supervision programs (ISPs) or, in Florida, Community Control. Although they allow offenders to continue residence in their homes, the programs address the immediate need for close supervision by the Court.

Florida's Community Control program developed around the specific needs of the state. In 1982, despite full-scale construction of prisons to house the increasing numbers of criminal offenders entering the prison system, the State of Florida was placed under a federal mandate to set maximum capacities for each of its correctional facilities and, even

more importantly, for the correctional system as a whole. It was in response to that mandate that Community Control was devised and implemented (Smith and Akers, 1993). The program is unique among other intensive supervision programs across the United States because, rather than accommodating only certain probationers or parolees, it is specifically designed to include felony offenders who would otherwise be incarcerated. The Department of Corrections' implementation manual (1983) clearly states its intent: "Community Control is not intensive probation. It is a distinctly different type of program that is punishment oriented and allows selected offenders to serve their sentences confined to their homes under 'house arrest' instead of in prison" (p. 1). By extending the metaphor of the prison cell into the home, this program provides a case example of the problematic that deinstitutionalization of punishment has created for families.

Community Control requires offenders to report to their officer at regular intervals —daily if ordered, although, most commonly, weekly—and provide a written account of their activities monthly. It prohibits changing residence, employment, or leaving the county without officer approval. It demands full accounting to any inquiries made by officers, forbids the ownership of firearms, limits the use of intoxicants, and requires employment. It gives control officers a responsibility to facilitate rehabilitative efforts, such as GED schooling, drug, alcohol, or anger management counseling as ordered by the Court. Unlike prison, where all costs are incurred by the State, offenders on community control are mandated to pay a cost of service fee (COS) as reimbursement to the State for their supervision, as well as any restitution owed to victims of their crime. Offenders

who fail to comply with any one of these provisions can be "violated." At that time, the Court is notified of the rule infraction and, technically at least, the offender may be sent to prison to serve an original sentence with no time credit given for time already served at home.

But it is in the conditions of home confinement that the intersection of the formal and informal worlds in question here is most dramatically articulated. Travel outside of an offender's approved residence is limited to employment, food shopping, medical needs, religious services, and fulfillment of a specified order for community service. Unlike the usual needs of family living, however, these activities must be scheduled and legitimated by the control officer during mandatory weekly reporting at the corrections office, and they must occur within the designated times. Although there are provisions for documented medical emergencies, such "minor emergencies" as a spouse's car breaking down, a child missing a school bus, or a relative's injury in a car accident, these are not automatically acceptable reasons for leaving the home without permission. That permission is left to the discretion of the control officer who is expected to apply the official mantra toward concessions on restrictions: If you can't do it in prison, don't expect to do it on Control.

Although home is the prison cell, the language of the implementation manual includes several community-referenced aspects of the program focusing on cost reduction, community safety, and offender "accountability and responsibility" (Florida Department of Corrections, 1983, p. 2). Described as "a new concept of punishment within the community," its potential benefits to the public can be summarized in three

points. First, Community Control provides a safe means of punishing criminal offenders which at the same time helps address the problem of prison overcrowding without jeopardizing the safety of the community. Second, instead of the state providing support, offenders pay supervision fees while they continue to support their families. Third, the three program components—restitution, reparation and punishment—recompense the victims of the crime as well as society.

The emergent rhetoric of both statutes and policies, then, effected the local conditions under which legislation incorporated home into its definition of a prison cell. The legislative history shows the process of program development from two separate but overlapping bills, one formed in the State Senate (SB 0644, 1983) and the other in the House of Representatives (HB 1012, 1983), both of which incorporated existing probation statutes. In both forms, the bills emphasized the need to control criminal justice expenditures (particularly the escalating costs of prison), to reduce overcrowding, to provide "swift and certain punishment" as deterrence, to standardize offenses with punishments "proportionate to the seriousness of the crime."

It was HB 1012, the more stringent of the two bills, that was finally adopted as the Corrections Reform Act of 1983. It was inaugurated amid extensive media coverage and was unabashedly designed to send the message to voters that, in addition to being "tough on crime," the State was saving tax dollars. Subsequently, the single mention of "family" in the implementation manual was linked to the cost effectiveness of the program because it would allow an assumed male breadwinner to continue employment, thereby providing economic support for his family. Five years after implementation, with no apparent

concern for the "unintended consequences" for families, Florida's Community Control had become "one of the most ambitious home confinement program[s] in the United States (Smith and Akers, 1993; Ball, Huff and Lilly, 1988). Despite minor changes, the program remains basically the same today.

The Influence of Sentencing Guidelines

Community Control, however, operates in conjunction with a the mandates of both state and federal sentencing guidelines. The guidelines condition the implementation of Community Control at all stages of the criminal justice process, from the decision of the prosecutor who presses the charges to the consequences for controllees who commit new violations of their control.

Sentencing guidelines were implemented by legislative mandate in 1983, the same year in which the statute establishing Community Control was enacted. The intent of the guidelines was and is to limit the range of sentencing options that judges are allowed, thereby further reducing disparities in sentencing. Along with a formulaic grid structure for determining appropriate sentence levels, the guidelines mandated that all felony offenders receive prison sentences. Judicial compliance with the guidelines would produce an onslaught of newly eligible prison inmates unless other provisions were devised. Thus, at a time when the State was already under a federal court order to reduce prison overcrowding, Community Control was envisioned as a diversionary program—a punishment outside of prison—providing a sentencing option for judges to use in complying with state and federal mandates.

Under these sentencing guidelines, offense behaviors are grouped into categories, or levels, according to type of offense, number and severity of the offenses, and criminal history, and assigned a numerical value corresponding to a particular level of punishment. Holten and Handberg (1994) describe the grid against which point totals are referenced as a thermometer that rises as points are added along a single vertical axis (p. 225). In this scheme, offenders' past criminal offenses as well as their current offenses are given equal weight. In other words, the past point value is attached to the person and any new offense is added on to the existing point value. As Gary Holten and Roger Handberg (1994) note, the weight the offense carries sometimes reflects the fears of middle class political constituents. He provides an example:

> For example, in Florida, due to the perceived psychological terror inflicted upon homeowners, household burglary was assigned a punitiveness score out of line with its status as a property offense. This reflects the view that the sense of violation of privacy and loss of security is more damaging that the physical crime itself. (p. 225)

A frequent consequence of the guideline structure is that it frequently catapults offenders from probation to Community Control. For an offender already on Community Control, a technical violation of intensive supervision and home confinement restrictions, for whatever reason, may result in sentencing to a prison term (Clear and Braga, 1994), exacting what Community Control sought to avert in the first place.

With the exception of Baird and Wagner (1990), scholars have given little attention to the juxtaposition of sentencing guidelines and programs of intensive supervision. Yet, as is evidenced by the narratives of offenders in later chapters of this dissertation, it has made a difference in the lives of the people sentenced into these

programs. The literature review that follows shows the directions that studies have taken in providing an "official" portrayal of these programs.

The Literature Review

There is an extensive body of literature on programs of intensive supervision and home confinement in general, but little focusing specifically on Florida's Community Control program. This is unfortunate for two reasons. First, the Florida program applies to offenders who have committed felonies that, under current federal and state sentencing guidelines, would incur prison sentences in other states. Secondly and perhaps more importantly, the Florida program explicitly states what other Intensive Supervision Programs (ISPs) have not directly addressed. That is, its goal is retributive punishment. However, for all offenders experiencing intensive supervision and home confinement, regardless of the crime committed, the problematic is similar—they live their lives at the intersection of two incompatible rule systems. Therefore, an overview of the turn researchers and policy makers have generally taken on issues related to compliance can be considered as a lens through which programs are systematically viewed.

The earliest intensive supervision programs began in California during the 1960s to reduce recidivism among felony offenders released from prison on parole. The idea was that if successful, it could assist the state in easing prison overcrowding. Initial research was disappointing (Lurigio and Petersilia, 1992, p. 7) and interest waned for a brief time. Early programs with probationers in Wisconsin and New York, however, raised hopes that these programs could be adapted for high risk offenders after all (Petersilia, Turner, Kahan, and Peterson, 1985). Even without the results of evaluative

studies, similar programs spread rapidly across the United States and, by 1976, twenty-nine states had ISPs in place (Beyer, 1994). By 1990, there were more than forty (p. 21; see also Petersilia, Lurigio and Byrne, 1992).

Among the published evaluations reviewed for this dissertation are programs from California (Petersilia and Turner, 1990), Texas (Fields, 1994; Jones and Wells, 1994; Turner and Petersilia, 1992), Idaho (Beyer, 1994), Ohio (Latessa and Gordon, 1994), New Jersey (Pearson, 1987) and Florida (Baird and Wagner, 1990; Smith and Akers, 1993). Various other studies evaluate programs specifically oriented to drug offenders (Petersilia, Turner, and Deschenes, 1992) and those combining home confinement with electronic monitoring (Baumer and Mendelsohn, 1992; Jolin and Stipak, 1992; Lilly, Ball, Curry and McMullen, 1993; Renzema, 1992). What these programs share is their concern with "toughness," that is, with the levels of surveillance they are able to provide.

Most studies of ISPs focus on the three interrelated questions of effectiveness: Is it effective in reducing recidivism, in reducing prison overcrowding, and in reducing costs? Relying on statistical evidence, most of the data show that, at best, these programs are minimally effective in reducing offender recidivism when compared to regular probation programs (Turner, Petersilia, and Deschenes, 1992; Petersilia and Turner, 1990) or compared with felony offenders who have been incarcerated (Smith, 1990; Smith and Akers, 1993). They do not reduce prison sentences (Blomberg, Bales, and Reed, 1993) and, because of the increase in technical violations for offenders on strict supervision, there is evidence that they have increased incarceration rates (Cohen, 1985).

For example, Petersilia and Turner (1990) found that the technical violations produced a "revolving door" effect that increased cost over prison by 25%.

There is somewhat more debate on the subject of cost effectiveness. While a few studies show savings to the state, others question cost saving (Tonry, 1990). Two studies show ISPs to be more costly than prison (Turner and Petersilia, 1992; Smith and Akers, 1993), particularly when the effects of "net-widening" are considered (Baird and Wagner, 1990; Clear and Braga, 1994). A 1960s study of high risk offenders on regular probation in California addressed the issue of public safety. They found high rates of rearrests and convictions for serious crimes that threatened the safety of the community. According to a special report by Langan and Cunniff (1992) and published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, public safety has not been systematically addressed since that time (p.2).

Since the 1970s, ISPs have gradually shifted to accommodate offenders convicted of more serious crimes (Renzema, 1992). The level of stringency in programs also has increased. In fact, Texas recently introduced a Super-Intensive Probation program (SIP), and Florida is testing a satellite community surveillance system that follows the movements of a targeted group of offenders twenty-four hours a day (Blomberg, Bales, and Reed, 1993, p. 199). These innovations may signal a trend in other states as well, even though there is little empirical evidence that surveillance and stringency reduce rearrest rates (Clear and Braga, 1994; Petersilia and Turner, 1990) unless they are combined with treatment (Petersilia and Turner, 1990; Jolin and Stipak, 1992).

Over the years, many researchers have criticized the measures used in effectiveness studies (Austin and Krisberg, 1981; Beyer, 1994; Cohen, 1985; Palumbo, Clifford, and Snyder-Joy, 1992), and others have criticized the critics themselves (Blomberg, Bales, and Reed, 1993; Palumbo, Clifford, and Snyder-Joy, 1992; McMahon, 1990; Binder and Geis, 1984). This quote from a chief probation officer for Los Angeles County makes the point relevant to the experiences of officers in the field.

> As I begin to look at the effectiveness of my ISP program, I question whether recidivism rates—the number of offenders who return to crime—are really an appropriate outcome measure. When rehabilitation was our primary purpose, recidivism rates seemed appropriate. However, if control and community protection are ISP goals, then a "success" might be viewed as the identification and quick revocation of persons who are committing the crimes. After all, the police are in the business of surveillance and control, and they judge an "arrest" as success, whereas we deem it a "failure." (Petersilia and Turner, 1990, p.105)

Noting this paradox, some researchers are rethinking effectiveness as a measurable correlation between the punishment and the crime. One current of this rethinking recommends the reinstitution of Beccarria's classical emphasis on the "just deserts" model of punishment. Petersilia and Turner (1990) state it this way:

> Discussions about whether ISP is a promising direction for crime-control policy must therefore move from micro-level questions, such as whether such programs benefit their subjects, to macro-level concerns about their contribution.
>
> The most compelling reason for continued development of ISP programs is the objective of just deserts, i.e., making the punishment fit the crime. (Petersilia and Turner, 1990, *p. xii*)

Unlike earlier control studies that debated the merits of the programs, these arguments take the merits of programs often called "values" for granted and focus instead on "salvaging" the programs (Clear and Braga, 1994). Program value is located in the

level of punishment rather than in effectiveness or other measurable outcomes of the program. It is mediated by the rules (restrictions) of the sentence, and applied within a broader system of rational punishment (Morris and Tonry, 1999). For example, conceptualized as a contractual relationship, "the offender agrees to cooperate by being available for either home visits or telephone contacts while the court agrees to refrain from jailing the offender if the conditions of home confinement are met (Ball and Lilly, 1985, cited by Blomberg, Bales and Reed, 1993).

Traditional Rationality and Contemporary Arguments

Programs of home confinement and intensive supervision constitute new ways of thinking about punishment—new rationalities— that introduce a new problematic of home as a prison cell. It is important, therefore, to discuss traditional rationality and its linkage to the goals of the present programs.

Rationality and Reform

Traditional views of rationality as a means of regularizing behavior and creating organizational efficiency converge in conventional sociology around the issue of punishment. In classical sociological traditions, institutions are viewed as patterns of social organization established over time. Following this scheme with its emphasis on normative consistency, rationality concerns a search for Truth as judged against an official version of what constitutes moral (i.e. social) behavior. In behavioral terms, therefore, actions outside of the norm constitute deviance that must be remediated through punishment or treatment.

While the meaning of rationality emerged in classical literature as a product of fundamental logic as broadly inclusive as society itself, its practical application focused increasingly on the social meaning of individual behavior. We can see this paradox in the essays on crime and punishment published by Cesare Beccaria the mid-eighteenth century. Having discussed the meaning of laws as the ties that make social living possible, Beccaria describes the individual and social rationality of punishment for those who act outside the laws.

> The end of punishment, therefore, is no other than to prevent the criminal from doing further injury to society, and to prevent others from committing the like offense (Williams and McShane, 1993, p. 12).

In other words, the purpose of punishment is both prevention and deterrence against future crime. The treatment current that runs through Beccaria's treatise appears in his advocacy of education—envisioned as a systematized inculcation of institutionalized knowledge— as "the most certain method of preventing crime" (p. 19).

From the eighteenth century onward, institutionalized knowledge was increasingly conditioned by the technologies of efficiency produced within the scientific model. Using new technologies of classification, criminal types could be categorized to determine appropriate treatment and to predict effectiveness. Citing one of his contemporaries, Cesare Lombroso, an early criminologist, argues the need for studying the criminal rather than the crime:

> 'Knowledge of the act,' says Delbruck, 'with an examination of the body and mind before and after it, is not enough to clean up the question or responsibility; it is necessary to know the life of the criminal from cradle to the dissecting table.' (Williams and McShane, 1993, p. 31).

While knowledge of the body was increasingly medicalized over time, administrative procedures in knowledge production utilized the bureaucratic structure as the exemplar of organizational efficiency. This hierarchal model, with rigid specifications of official qualifications and duties, remains as the model of criminal justice organizations. In that sense, we can visualize the contemporary criminal justice system as "a blueprint for activities which includes, first of all, a table of organization: a listing of offices, departments, positions, and programs. . . linked by explicit goals and policies that make up a rational theory of how, and to what end, activities are to be fitted together" (Meyer and Rowen, 1991, p. 42).

Like traditional rationality in general, the essence of the criminal justice system is its objectivity, that is, the impersonal character of its structural elements. Coordination between these elements assumes that rules and procedures, its activity elements, are followed by those appointed to implement them (p. 43). The goal, as Staples (1997) argues, is not to punish less, but to punish better (p. 14).

Alternatives to "Get Tough" Policies

In comparison, Clear and Braga (1994) focus their argument for rethinking programs on high-risk cases, targeting "the informal social controls" of family, peers, employment, and community. Based on their research, they argue that "toughness" by itself reduces compliance levels and ultimately increases supervision costs by returning offenders to prison (p. 15). Instead of relying on "get tough" rhetoric, they advocate limiting the amount of time served for technical violations, and focusing on community-based treatment instead. Similarly, others advocate incorporating treatment along with

strict enforcement of program rules as a means of reintroducing community values into the framework of punishment (Smith and Akers, 1993; Petersilia and Turner, 1990; Morris and Tonry, 1990). Thus, community reenters the rhetoric of just deserts as a positive approach toward the "reintegrative goals" of punishment and compliance as a reform argument (Smith and Akers, 1993).

On the other hand, there are those who question both the programs and those who would extend them further into communities, homes, and families. These critics set themselves as outsiders to the mainstream debate by organizing their arguments around the political motives and expectations of those who design and implement policy from within the system. Their stance has earned them designations as "overly pessimistic sociologists" (McMahon, 1990), and their work as "quasi criminology" (Blomberg, Bales, and Reed, 1993), methodologically flawed (McMahon, 1990) and based on "ideological conclusions" (Binder and Geis, 1984). Although their arguments shift and overlap, I've categorized them around issues of funding, "net-widening," and the deprivatization of family life (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997).

Linking Funding, Research, Policies, and Programs

Another current of criticism is concerned with the extent to which research is presently produced or funded by government agencies. For example, a particularly large body of research across the United States has come through the RAND Corporation, a research and development organization in Santa Monica, California. Beginning in the early 1980s, the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), an agency of the U.S. Department of Justice, contracted the services of the RAND Corporation to assist in systematic

evaluation of the effectiveness of regular probation programs in California. Subsequently, their results were used in designing the new intermediate sanctions including intensive supervision and home confinement. RAND funded studies, particularly those of criminologist Joan Petersilia, continue to influence research and policy decisions across the United States. Likewise, major research on Florida's Community Control (Evans, Smith, and Hall, 1986; Smith and Akers, 1993; Baird and Wagner, 1990) have been funded, at least in part, by the Florida Mental Health Institute and the National Institute of Justice of the U. S. Department of Justice respectively.

Relatedly, some critics argue more generally that programs are not what policy-makers claim them to be (Palumbo, 1989), as having "a confusion of goals" (Palumbo, Clifford and Snyder-Joy, 1992, p. 231), or as "promising too much to too many (Byrne, Luigio and Baird, 1989, p.11). Like those who are wary of the linkage between government funding and research interests, they frequently use a net metaphor to convey their argument. From this perspective, society is viewed as an ocean in which "fish" swim relatively unimpeded in their natural world. Agencies, particularly those that control research and policy decisions, are the fishers who cast their nets according to the special interests of those whose goals they seek to accomplish (i.e. those whom they wish to control). Ironically, according to Cohen (1985), the greater concern of these agencies is with the nets, rather than with the "fish" who will be processed, labeled, and perhaps, thrown back only to be netted again. The concern is with having enough nets, the right nets, nets that are strong enough, wide enough (Austin and Krisberg, 1981) and cost effective (Palumbo, Clifford, and Snyder-Joy, 1992).

Echoing Foucault's concerns with the relationship between knowledge and power (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1984), Lewis and Darling (1990) locate the problematic of this linkage in the rhetoric of politics and criminal justice in which it is embedded. To them, the reform movement looks more like a satellite of the state, while the state has communalized some of what it does. All of this is becoming increasingly invisible, because scholars are still debating the relative merits of community versus institutional programming" (p. 100). Lewis and Darling argue that, because researchers have been using the rhetoric of the criminal justice world, the same rhetoric that defines the programs they evaluate, they have misunderstood the political motives underlying the shift to community programs.

> By focusing on community care as an alternative to institutionalization, attention is shifted away from the complementary nature of their [scholar and state] relationship and toward misleading debates about which is most effective. The last decade of correctional experience confirms the mutually supportive relations between the two, as the lines between community and institution blur into new forms of regulation and control that have gone unstudied because they do not conform to the community paradigm's rendition of what is important. . . . (p. 103)

Accordingly, they assign to researchers the task of removing "the ideological blinders that accompany the term *community*, for the type of social control that occurs today is concealed rather than illuminated by the idea of community-based institutional corrections" (p. 109; emphasis in original).

Criticism such as theirs suggests the need for practical theorizing to examine the intersubjectivity of traditional rationality—the basis of criminal justice logic—and

practical action. Thus, the political challenge of Lewis and Darling may be viewed as central to the problematic of the current project.

Shifting Perspectives on Punishment

While some scholars today argue for more stringent forms of supervision, and others advocate treatment to normalize the offender's (and family member's) particular form of deviance, the traditional version of the rationality of punishment prevails in their arguments. In contrast, a critical current has emerged to reexamine Weber's concern with the subjective understandings belying the social meaning of "bureaucracy" and "ideal types" especially in relation to institutionalized discourses. The interpretive concerns of these scholars shift the debates from objective evaluations of program effectiveness to questioning the epistemological underpinnings of punishment as an institutionalized form of power (Foucault, 1979), and, more recently, to examine how tensions are produced and transformed when institutionalized conflicts in understanding (Gubrium, 1992; Holstein, 1993; Miller and Holstein, 1995). This, broadly speaking, is the concern of this dissertation.

A Foucauldian Argument

The tensions between the power of social institutions and the institutional domination of individuals is a central theme of Foucault's writing, and much of his work focuses the pragmatics of social reasoning. Foucault (1979) is concerned with the epistemological foundations of institutions in society, viewing these as a product of the power relations "pre-existing" as codes embedded in institutional discourses. He criticizes the top-down approach of conventional analysis. Instead, his methodology of

deconstruction supports a view of multiple rationalities, in which power is "circulating throughout a decentered field of institutional networks" (Best and Kellner, 1991, p. 52).

The thrust of Foucault's argument is that rational knowledge moves increasingly toward classification and specialization, in which individuals become subordinate to the technologies that simultaneously produce and regulate them. Once institutionalized, the rationality that organizes a system becomes invisible, normalized, and unquestioned. Only the technology and the technicians remain visible. To clarify, I use one of Foucault's examples of technology in use. During the plague that threatened Europe in the 1700s, authorities instituted measures to prevent the spread of the disease. Accordingly, families, whether stricken with the disease or not, were confined to their homes under pain of death, while local officers, who were similarly under capital orders, conducted visuals of the families daily. Foucault reports visuals this way:

> Every day, too, the syndic goes into the street for which he is responsible; stops before each house: gets all the inhabitants to appear at the windows. . . . he calls each of them by name; informs himself as to the state of each and every one of them. . . .Everyone locked up in his cage, everyone at his window, answering to his name and showing himself when asked—it is the great review of the living and the dead. (Foucault, 1979, p. 196)

The surveillance component of the plan was observable in the syndic assigned to make the visual inspections and in the systematic reporting of syndics to intendants, intendants to magistrates or mayors. Not unlike the current programs of home confinement and intensive supervision, where front-line workers monitor and enforce judicial orders face-to-face in the home, the power of surveillance to produce obedience was dispersed throughout the "disciplinary mechanism" (p. 197) whose workings

Foucault describes succinctly— "Inspection functions ceaselessly. The gaze is everywhere alert" (1974; 1979).

In Foucault's scheme, the "gaze" is the linkage between knowledge and power within the particular discourses that constitute the disciplines. Organized as Truth and refined into ever-greater classificatory spaces, the gaze moves as a system to transform the world we actually see. The transformative power of the gaze is accomplished through disciplinary practices that separate and define individuals. Moreover, as Foucault explains, by illuminating the body, it produces individuals who eventually become self-surveying. In his words:

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. (1979, p. 203)

Two components of self-surveillance are relevant to the argument of this dissertation. First, that people are singled out—individualized—for the process of treatment or punishment, and secondly, that they sense the power around them at all times. The Panopticon, an architectural design proposed by Jeremy Bentham in the late 1700s, is a metaphor of visible bodies and invisible power, or, as Foucault puts it, "a mechanism of power [architecturally] reduced to its ideal form" (p. 205). On the one hand, its circular design allowed immediate visibility into and through all of the individual cells; it provided a means of isolating individuals from criminals; and, with its observational tower in the center and in full view of the criminals, it created the illusion of constant surveillance.

The model of the prison as an ideal form shifted to prison as the ultimate form in the early 1800s. The new "carceral" model stressed rigid scheduling and continuous observation through education, religion, and occupational training. Daily individual assessments of behavior and training created a new form of knowledge of the individual superimposed on the knowledge of self. The significance of the carceral, according to Foucault, is that it introduced penitentiary techniques of individualization and objectification "into the most innocent disciplines" (p. 297). In other worlds, this new complex, multisystem system—symbolized by the various 'psys' and 'ologies'—extended the carceral beyond the immediate confines and into society—even science—as a whole.

Extending Panopticism to Families

"What is the place of the judicial in the development of these practices of social control?" Jacques Donzelot (1979) asks in his study of families and the judicial system (p. 99). In the book, *Policing Families*, Donzelot adopts the Foucauldian argument that families are increasingly invisible in the judicial system as the courts look to experts and counselors to define the circumstances and prescribe treatment. Families, he claims, are political productions of the various interconnected discourses that create them. As Gubrium and Holstein (1997) note, they are accordingly and increasingly "deprivatized."

My four years of experience as a Guardian ad Litem, working with children whose parents were accused of physical or sexual abuse, and speaking through the role in the best interests of child, supports the image of families as invisible yet illuminated in the courtroom. Typically, in my work, the parties to the hearing gathered before the

bench in a semi-circle facing the judge. Representing the State, the foster care attorney summarized the case for the judge. The foster care caseworker presented documentation as evidence according to the purpose of the hearing. The Guardian ad Litem presented documentation from the child's perspective in support or opposition to that provided by the caseworker. Meanwhile, the child's parents—the accused—remained silent but centered in that semi-circle, their working identities constructed by the documents that produced their institutional presence. Occasionally, they were asked by the judge to affirm or deny the reports. Rarely did they speak on behalf of themselves. Rarely did a public defender, also present, speak convincingly on their behalf. Yet, the decision rendered was usually announced as some form of "what's best [for the family] under the circumstances." The question Donzelot poses similarly extends the concerns of social control beyond family boundaries into the community as a whole.

Whether as programs of punishment or programs of treatment, community-based corrections organizes local communities according to the various discourses of criminal justice. Although the political climate shifts and particular philosophies ebb and flow as new statistical knowledge is highlighted, the process of social control continues unnoticed, normalized, and routinized in daily life. New models and new technology ideals continue to be devised to improve information gathering and knowledge production, and to facilitate routine surveillance of offenders (Nye, 1997). Not only computerized record-keeping, but also various forms of electronic monitoring are currently utilized in programs of intensive supervision and home confinement. It is interesting to note that electronic monitoring (EM) began with experiments at Harvard

University during the 1960s at a time when reform focused more on treatment than punishment for offenders. According to Renzema (1992), it was described as "an electronic rehabilitation system" that would reduce criminal offenses, facilitate therapy, and have "humanitarian advantages" (p. 43).

Today the device used is more likely applied to increase the level of surveillance, particularly for arrestees awaiting trial or controllees who have violated confinement restrictions. Typically, it is worn on the offender's ankle to provide a continuous signal via a home terminal to a private monitoring company. Printouts of the readings are regularly faxed to case officers. When the monitored subject moves beyond the transmission range, a warning appears on the printout to alert the officer of the possible violation. In a survey of Florida programs using electronic devices for monitoring controllees, the program goals were seldom mentioned. Instead, as Renzema notes, their utilitarian use is to reduce jail overcrowding (p. 46). Their specific use is to create prison level surveillance at home.

Stanley Cohen (1985) calls the shift to decentralized power in social control the "second Great Transformation" even while it maintains the components of confinement that Foucault describes. Distinctions between boundaries, geographic and normative, have blurred, however, and the binary divisions marking individuals as innocent or guilty, and physical space as places of confinement or freedom, have shifted once again. In terms of technology, the meaning of geography has changed. Quoting Virilio [1989]: "Space is no longer in geography, it's in electronics" (Cited in Bogard, 1996, p. 75). And what of "the gaze" of panoptic control? Bogard responds:

> [The gaze] is no longer invisibly on the scene; it is the *total* scene. It no longer merely watches, it is not exterior, calculating and detached. It is perhaps not really a "gaze" at all, but a kind of "informated touch," since the whole environment is transparent and hyperperceptual. (p. 77; emphasis in original.)

Although Bogard, like Foucault, discounts the practical accomplishments of those living under surveillance, he joins others who emphasize the need for asking new questions about the rules that organize reality. Instead of asking *who* controls the codes, we need to ask *how* they produce the reality they regulate (126).

These various questions, then, illustrate the concerns addressed in my research. Instead of the more general framework of organizational reality, however, I've both widened the lens and narrowed the focus of organizational reality. The wider lens includes not only official organizational policies and procedures but also the unofficial, or local, organization of informal worlds of meaning. The narrowed focus, however, is not on individuals as in conventional studies, but on families who experience the tension that these competing rationalities produce.

In the following chapter, I situate my research in a particular judicial district within the local organization of Community Control. I describe the form of its geo-political location, its physical embodiment in architectural structures and office procedures, and the activities of its members who perform criminal justice organization in their official roles in relation to Community Control.

CHAPTER 3
SITUATING THE RESEARCH

Local Conditions of the Field

The conditions that constitute the field in question move beyond legally defined boundaries and official designs, even beyond homes and families, and into the interactive space in which its members live. In that sense, it is a malleable and fluid field, in which not only roles and identities, but even policies and procedures are continually forming as its members describe what it means to live and work there. It does, however, have an official version. Thus, I begin this chapter with a description of the socio-legal boundaries of the field; that is, I begin with a few facts of the field of criminal justice in relation to Community Control. Bear in mind, however, that the descriptions come from somewhere, someone. For that reason, I include the perspectives of those who opened the field for me.

In a later section of this chapter, I explain the approval process that provided research access to the field, and the volunteer work with the Department of Corrections through which I experienced policy application and office procedures first-hand. Although the linear format of the chapter organizes the description of the District, its offices, and its processes as having occurred prior to approval, the actual sequence of events forms a much more circuitous route. All subjective data concerning clients occurred subsequent to securing approval for research.

The District

The Circuit Court district that comprises the legal and geographic boundaries of this research consists of six mostly rural counties in the State. As is typical throughout the state, each county has its governmental seat with a separate courthouse and jail facilities. These population centers are usually focused around a few stores or a strip mall, several churches, public school buildings, a few fast-food restaurants perhaps, and long-established residential neighborhoods. A main rail line extends north and south along the eastern side of the district, and east and west at the northern limits. The poorer neighborhoods of these towns typically lie along the railroad tracks, so it is not surprising that the whistle of an approaching train is frequently heard on several interviews.

Beyond the incorporated population centers stretch acres of pine forests, pastures, or fields planted with corn, peanuts, watermelon and soybeans during the growing seasons. Looking down from a low-flying plane, a sprinkling of small homes and "trailers" appear scattered in clearings behind the trees. Employment in these outlying areas is often related to forestry operations in the harvesting of trees, at the sawmills, or trucking the trees and lumber to other destinations. A fishing village lies to the far west of the District along the shoreline of the Gulf of Mexico. Here, families follow the work of the generations before them in commercial fishing and related industries. Recent legislation restricting the use of certain types of nets, as well as the dwindling supplies of fish, have seriously impaired the economy of this area.

The single large urban center in the District is University City, a community of approximately 100,000 full time residents and a student population of approximately

46,000. Here jobs are more diversified, however the ready availability of qualified workers hampers the wage-earning potential for both skilled and unskilled workers. Many of the residents of the outlying areas rely on University City for employment. These jobs are unavailable to controllees seeking employment since they must limit their job searches to the county in which they live.

Lack of transportation, low incomes, and poor job availability and skills are common to controllees throughout the district. Shifting the lens illuminates this condition as a problem for criminal justice as well. "What's different out here from in town?" I asked a rural control officer. He replied:

> No transportation. Few jobs. The problem occurs then because Community Control requires monthly payments, but they [controllees] don't have money. Even those who have jobs out here, it's difficult to verify. For example, watermelon pickers. You ask where they're working, who pays them. They don't know. It's often cash. That's difficult for a supervisor. It's like tracking down a fireant.

The problem, as he saw it, was more than demographic. It had subjective dimensions that extended to his own work. The next officer whom I asked provided yet another example of the rural/urban difference. "It makes a big difference," he responded to my question. "If a guy lives on a 200 acre farm, it would drive him nuts to stay in the house. Usually the judge won't restrict him just to the house. In an urban area where a guy lives several floors up in just an apartment, that's a cell." It's evident, therefore, that the problematic of competing worlds is not a dialectic of a well-defined field but is, instead, a very local complexity of time, place, and circumstance. While the differences between rural and urban, as well as the various forms and circumstances of family living,

may change the circumstances of confinement for all the members, the problematic of family living extends similarly to all. Regardless of their physical or geographic circumstances, it is the juxtaposition of the "rules" of family and criminal justice that pose the dilemmas all members face as they negotiate compliance in a particular local setting. As I will show later, local particulars mediate the everyday problematic as it is articulated in the house arrest under consideration.

The Offices

When I began what I thought of then as my preliminary or background research in 1996, there were four Community Control offices in the district. Now, in spring of 1999, there are only three—one in University City, and two combined with probation offices in the outlying areas. For controllees in the far corners of the district, the distance to the office to which they report may be thirty to forty miles. Each office has a clerical staff of two to four people, a supervisor, and one to three regular control officers, besides the probation officers with whom the offices are shared.

The offices in the District, although architecturally different, are functionally designed as reporting centers for clients. In all three offices, the entry from the outdoors opens to a waiting room displaying portraits of the state governor and the head of the Department of Corrections. A client entering the waiting room signs in at the receptionist window, then picks up a "blue sheet" and a pencil from the only table in the room. While waiting for the officer, the person completes this self report with their current address, any involvement in treatment programs, any drug or alcohol use, and their employment status. Meanwhile the receptionist announces to the officer that a client is waiting.

Because the door separating the waiting room from the main offices is locked at all times, the officers come to the waiting room to meet their clients and accompany them back into the secured area for the meeting. Officers who choose to test controllees for drug use at this time escort them to a semi-private lavatory in the secured area. Although they stay in close proximity to the lavatory to supervise while the controllee urinates, those officers whom I viewed from a nearby hallway moved to avoid direct observation of their clients. The urine specimen is tested in the adjacent "kitchen" immediately in the client's presence. If a client "tests dirty," that is, if the lab indicator shows positive evidence of drugs in the urine, the client is notified that a violation report will be filed. In the words commonly used by clients and officers, the controllee "is violated."

While a failed drug test usually results in a written statement to the court and perhaps a court hearing, a controllee who has been violated on other technical charges, such as being away from home without approval, may arrive at the office on reporting day to a surprise event. An officer will notify local law enforcement officers who will then make an arrest in the lobby of the control office prior to the meeting with the officer. This seemingly clandestine arrangement insures the safety of the control officers and prevents the escape of the arrestee. All in all, the procedures of reporting and the architectural arrangement of the offices in which it occurs are linked in terms of their primary functions, thereby further shaping officer/client interaction.

The Officers

The daily activities in each office revolve around the reporting days and procedures. Each office specifies one day a week for controllees to report. Evening

hours are available on that day. There are two main purposes for the weekly reporting meeting. First, the controllee submits a schedule for the week ahead for the officer's approval, and fills out a "blue sheet" which provides a self-reported progress statement. Second, any court costs or cost of service fees for the month can be paid on the reporting day. The officers record payments (cashier's check or money order only) on computer and print two copies of the receipt—one for the file and the other for the controllee. Conversations observed between clients and officers are usually about money—how much they brought, how much they owe, how it will be paid if they're in arrears. Typically, clients are told to bring in at least some money each time even if they can't pay the whole amount. Although being in arrears is technically a violation, officers advise controllees that the consistency of their payment indicates to the court that they are trying to comply. In that case, the officers usually recommend continued supervision rather than incarceration.

The routine meeting between an officer and a client takes about seven to ten minutes after which the officer accompanies the client to the door of the waiting room. After that, receipts and reports are stacked for filing in the case file. Noting the amount of money generated during one afternoon on reporting day while I was at the office, I remarked, "That's a lot of money." The officer replied, "If they all paid." As he handed me a stack of receipts and "blue sheets" to file he added, "That's all it is, paper and money." Noting the questions on the self-report forms that another officer handed me, I asked a supervisor why several controllees would risk violation by answering "yes" indicating they had used drugs or alcohol during the previous week.

"Why don't they lie?" I asked.

"We don't want them to lie," the supervisor said.

"Yes, but if they more than likely have a restriction on order. . . ?

"They know we won't violate 'em for telling the truth. We're here to help 'em not to hurt 'em. Uh-uh. We won't violate 'em for telling the truth."

In addition to the weekly reporting times, newly sentenced controllees are required to go directly from the court to the control office if possible, or, if the trial is later in the day, to report as early as possible the following morning. Orientation usually takes place at that time.

The purpose of the orientation is to advise the controllee of the rules and restrictions they are required to follow under the terms of their sentence, and to show how these matters are supervised at the local level. Basically, the session addresses four topics—money, scheduling and reporting, residence, and violations. For all practical purposes, the orientation meeting is the controllees first glimpse into the "thinking process" of Community Control. It provides a first impression of the officer/client relationship they are entering. Officers are required to follow a standard form for this meeting. On completion of all items on the form, controllees are required to sign a statement indicating that orientation has taken place and they have been informed of the rules they are expected to follow. Their signature, witnessed by the officer, validates the controllees contract with the judicial system thereby justifying re-sentencing if contractual terms are violated.

In effect, this first meeting sets the contractual relationship as a rule structure that officers later use to justify any decisions regarding the case. The fundamental rule of Community Control, repeated several times during the orientations I observed, is: "If you couldn't do it in prison, don't ask to do it here." Controllees, too, in their interviews with me, frequently invoked the intersubjective understandings of the orientation session as a framework for their narratives. Therefore, an example of one such meeting as typical of others that I observed is important to the analysis that follows. For that reason, I present it here in some depth.

Controllee Tony's[2] orientation. During a visit to a rural office, an officer invited me to sit in on the orientation of a new controllee. I met the man, whom I'll call Tony, and explained my interest. He said he had no problem with having me there and that, in fact, it's always good to have a third person. The officer had been out to Tony's house over the weekend and began the meeting by asking if the guns he had seen had been removed. Tony said they were gone, and the officer, whom I'll call Mr. Garner, reminded Tony that, as a convicted felon, he would no longer have the right to own guns. Without waiting for a reply, Mr. Garner moved to the topic of money. Starting the following month, he told Tony, there would be a cost of service fee of $25 per month. Along with other fees, the amount owed monthly would be $70.

"Why so high?" asked Tony after hearing about an additional $2 per month plus a 4% surcharge.

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[2] All names used are pseudonyms.

"It's expensive to be on probation. . . In fact, it's a privilege to be on Community Control in Florida," the officer replied.

Tony was one of the many controllees I met who came to Community Control because of probation violations. Mr. Garner explained the point system that had brought him there by showing that Tony already had "a twenty months' score" prior to the violation. The new score, added to the existing one, pushed the sentence to over two years. "The sentencing guidelines are stackable," the officer told him. "And if you violate, if you commit any offense, the charges are stackable and I'll get you on a few of them. I only need to prove one. If you fail to file the blue form, that's a violation. See how that works?"

Failing to fill out a schedule is also a violation. Handing Tony a schedule sheet, Mr. Garner asked, "How long does it take you to get to work?"

"An hour and a half," replied Tony.

"Then you need to figure it both ways. Write the time you leave the house and the time you return. That's what I go by."

After filling in a schedule for the week that included only his work, two hours for shopping on Saturday, and an hour for church on Sunday, Mr. Garner asked if there was anything Tony didn't understand. "Better ask now," Mr. Garner said, "because once you sign [the statement that says orientation was completed and its terms accepted by the controllee], it's a done deal."

Tony's only question was what to do in an emergency. For example, he said, what if his daughter got hurt? Mr. Garner gave him a booklet and said, "I'm instructing

you to read it. There's information about what to do in an emergency, and an emergency number to call. Your daughter comes first." Mr. Garner also referred Tony to a section of the booklet that explained the grievance procedure. At that point Tony asked, "Can I get early release? It's the first time I've been in trouble."

"The judge already cut you a break," Mr. Garner said. "You can't get early release from Community Control, but maybe he'll drop you to probation after six months."

After recording the employer's address and phone number, Mr. Garner advised Tony that, under Florida Statute, his employer must be notified of his status as a convicted felon. "I'll do that today," Tony said. Mr. Garner assured Tony that he'd allow a few days before verifying that the employer was informed. "It won't take me that long," Tony responded.

After taking a Polaroid picture of Tony for the file, Mr. Garner admonished him to stay out of trouble. "Don't worry," Tony said. "It's the big boy house next time."

"I used to work there," Mr. Garner said. "It's not so bad."

"That's if you go home every night," replied Tony.

Mr. Garner reiterated what he called the objectives of Community Control—remain arrest free and law-abiding, and make the payments regularly. "It gets easier as it goes longer," he said, "because you're going to get used to it."

"I don't have much choice, do I?" Tony replied.

After Tony left, the officer added the orientation form, the blue sheet, and the schedule to the file he had already started. He stapled Tony's picture inside the cover of

the file, jotted a few notes, then closed the file and placed it alphabetically among those of his other cases. His case load was now twenty-four, one less than the statutory limit. From now on, Tony would be known institutionally as another case in the system.

Although individuals sentenced to Community Control are typically referred to by officers and supervisors as "clients," or as "guys" during informal conversations, they are case numbers and files to the criminal justice system. It is common for officers to explain their workload by the number of cases currently active, or as cases closed or transferred. A shortage of control officers at the time of my research required an officer in a rural area to supervise 42 active cases, however, in the other offices distributions adhered to the state-mandated twenty-five case maximum.

Case Statistics

Department of Corrections reporting is based on cases and caseloads. According to the Annual Report on Community Supervision for fiscal year 1996-1997, there were a total of 14,830 offenders on Community Control in the State, 290 of whom were in the district of my research. No county by county or district specific data is published, however the general profile for the State shows 80.9% are male, 59.5% white, and 51.2% under age twenty-nine. Most (68.5%) are sentenced to terms under two years, and the most common conviction is for drug possession (15.8%) or the sale and manufacture of drugs (14.6%). By race and gender, white men make up 48.8% of the total, with white females at 11.4%, black males at 31.2%, and black females at 7.6%. By ethnicity, the breakdown shows only Hispanic (7.3%) and non-Hispanic (85.2%), with another 7.5% for whom data was unavailable. Based on what officers described as their caseloads, the

general profile for the district under study is similar. Also similar to what criminal justice literature reports, the cases here are most likely to come from probation rather than from new criminal offenses.

Although officers report only client data, their caseloads, for all practical purposes, include the controllees' files. An important part of an officer's "compliance work" involves keeping files current, or using files to produce documents for the court. In that sense, case files are what Foucault called a history of the present since they regularly produce the person—the object[ive] of their supervision. Files, therefore, are conditions of the field that shape the reality of controllees and officers.

Case Files

A typical case file is a legal-sized brown folder divided into sections for legal documents, such as "Postsentence Investigation Reports," which indicate the controllees "legal status." A computer-generated copy of the sentencing guideline scoresheet with the controllee's total points is attached. The legal section also includes a "Judicial Order of Sentence," with such facts of the case as the charge, the plea, the judgement, and an "Order Establishing Monetary Sums." The latter form provides the breakdown of the payments due for attorney fees, court costs, and "cost of service" fees. The computer-generated payment receipts are usually filed in a separate section of the file as payments are made.

Besides the official court documents, and a section for weekly schedules, officer contact reports, and "blue sheets" (monthly progress reports), a final section includes

psychological reports and other professional evaluations, police reports of the criminal incident, and any violation reports with signatures of case officers and their supervisors.

On my first day as a volunteer worker, I commented to an officer on the number of filing cabinets that lined the walls of the conference room, and more specifically on the amount of paperwork included in the files. It's all necessary verification, she told me. "The District requires verification of everything." Only somewhat facetiously she added, "They want the mother's maiden name and shoe size; then they want it verified by the mother." Opening a file from her desk, she showed me a socio-economic profile that was nearly blank. "Some districts don't require as much information," she said. In response to my question as to why that was so, she explained that the attention to details reflected "supervisory discretion."

As the preceding sections show, the field in which I conducted my research is embedded in an organizational process that is continually forming and reforming its activities. Even the boundaries of the "official version" are blurred by the intersubjectivity of "supervisory discretion," "stackable charges," and practitioners who say "I will violate you," or "We're here to help them." In the following section, I describe my official entry into this complex field of meaning.

The Approval Process

It is not easy for a researcher to enter the world of criminal justice as an outsider. Although I received a small dissertation grant from the University of Florida, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, I had not sought funding through the National Institute of Justice, the state Department of Corrections, or any of the institutions that directly or

indirectly control access to the system. I believed then, as I do now, that too often funding through these organizations maintains and reproduces the policies the research is otherwise meant to examine. Thus far, as we have seen, these policies and the rhetoric that surrounds them have excluded families. My research, with its focus on controllees as family members embedded in a competing system of domestic relations, necessitated a shift in perspective outside the mainstream of the "effectiveness" debates.

Having decided on the direction of my research and the particular emphasis I wanted to apply, I designed a brief proposal outlining the research goals and methods as required for approval by University Institutional Review Board (IRB). I also submitted to the IRB detailed consent forms—one for controllees, one for adult family members, and one for parental permission to interview minors—as required. In addition to explaining the research purposes and procedures to the subjects, each of these forms included an explicit statement of the legal limits of confidentiality (see Appendix A). Because my research would extend into the households of my subjects, the IRB required the additional phrase, "to the extent of the law," as the legal limits to which I could assure confidentiality. Initially, this adjustment on the consent forms was the only condition made by the IRB for approval of the project.

However, bureaucratic processes do not begin and end with documents themselves. Rather, as Gubrium and Silverman (1990) remind us, there is a broader social context in which existing knowledge is used, and in which new knowledge is produced and mutually reaffirmed. New knowledge conditions new needs. Thus, when IRB members just happened to attend a conference in which they were advised to exhibit

greater caution in dealing with matters of confidentiality in "sensitive cases," the routine process of IRB approval for me became unexpectedly complicated. Having been informed of the broader uses of certificates of confidentiality provided through the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), the IRB now decided to approve my research only on condition that I obtain such a certificate to protect my work from possible subpoena by the courts.

Although I had deliberately constructed a qualitative methodology that I felt was sensitive to the circumstances of my subjects—a dimension that the local IRB had recognized and appreciated—its value as "good science" was called into question by the administrators of NIMH who, as their legal-expert said, had "never seen anything like it." Moreover, my "good sense" in wanting to research in homes of criminal offenders—subjects whom the research methodology expert called "these people who could be maniacs"—was also a serious concern to them. Eventually, after a phone conference that included my professor, I received the Certificate of Confidentiality with the admonition that, "if this was a funded project, we [NIMH] would not approve it."

The Methodology

The current research is unlike other studies of home confinement programs in that it elaborates the multidimensionality of compliance-work. It does this by shifting analytical lenses among the various member roles. It also takes into account that the controllees and family members, as well as the corrections workers who talked about their lives and work, frequently shift lenses in their own narratives as they talk about their worlds and make meaning. For example, to emphasize the concerns parents have about

their responsibilities and loss of privacy with a controllee in their homes, a public defender told me that, "if it were my son or daughter, I'd advise them to take their prison time and have it over," rather than plea bargaining for Community Control. Or a controllee who, after elaborating the frustrations of being on house arrest and her control officer's unbending adherence to rules, shifted her view to the officer's role saying: "But they tell you 'home is your prison cell.' She's only doing her job."

The problematic of competing worlds of understanding is everywhere in these narratives, fluid and flowing, a shifting of currents between persons, perspectives, and practicality as they work out the practical accomplishment of the tasks at hand. Multidimentiality, therefore, has been a goal in this research project from the beginning. To accomplish this, I have had numerous phone and personal conversations and interviews with corrections supervisors and control officers, public defenders and criminal attorneys, and counselors who work with controllees through substance and sexual abuse counseling and anger management. On several occasions, I rode with control officers as they made home contacts out in the field. I observed mandatory orientation and individual "needs-assessments meetings." Perhaps the most important experiences in terms of my understanding of the problematic from an official perspective, were the hours spent as a volunteer worker in a rural probation/control office where I filed mountains of papers, proofread officer recommendations to the court, entered officer/client contact data in the computer, reorganized file drawers, or phoned employers to verify controllees' employment status. During all of this, of course, I observed the

flow of interactions between officers, their clients, and their supervisors, all oriented in one way or another to the production of compliance.

My interviews with controllees, on the other hand, were conducted in their homes, usually while sitting in the living room or at the kitchen table. Frequently other members of the family moved freely through the room while continuing their routine activities. A spouse or live-in partner might add a comment or two from the next room, or more likely, someone entering the room would sit down and participate. What I originally thought of as informality seemed expected, or even welcomed, by the interviewees. In any case, it was never openly discouraged, and I used these occasions to appreciate the collaborative dimensions they offered.

Although I had originally planned to locate participants for the study via public records obtained at the courthouse, I soon learned that cases there were filed by case number only, and that cross-referencing by types of sentencing was not possible. After examining several dozen files, beginning with the most recent dates, I had found only three offenders on Community Control. As it turned out, one had no contact information listed. The phone number of the second was not in service. And the third informed me that "nothing I've ever done has affected my family in any way. I don't want to talk to you."

Contacts made with local attorneys and substance abuse, sex, or anger management counselors were similarly discouraging. Although each of these practitioners provided a wealth information from their professional stocks of knowledge, I found only two participants through them. Commenting on the family focus of my

work, one sexual abuse counselor accounted for the lack of response from his clients in this way: "They're embarrassed. They don't want their families involved." After talking about the futility of his own efforts to involve family members in counseling, he added, "There's a lot of denial and minimalization out there. One offender even lied to his wife about it. He told her he's in a substance abuse treatment program, and that he was told he didn't need sexual abuse counseling." Speaking more generally about the controllees in various treatment programs, another counselor said, "My guys just want to keep their families out of it."

On the advice of the district supervisor who was both excited about my proposed research and sympathetic to the problems of access I was having, I changed course and petitioned the Department of Corrections in Tallahassee to allow control officers and supervisors to share the names and contact information (addresses and phone numbers) on their clients with me. Because I would not require access to departmental case files (separate from the public records at the court house), permission from the department was granted with little difficulty and a delay of only three weeks. Following that approval, office supervisors and case officers were eager to cooperate with me. As more than one of these practitioners told me, whatever we can learn about "what happens in families" will be helpful in their work.

Although I had wanted to distance myself from the Department originally, thinking participants would be more likely to volunteer for interviews if they had that assurance, it actually worked the other way. Having official approval and a Certificate of Confidentiality made my work legitimate in their eyes. It also made them feel safe from

possible violation for whatever they would tell me. Of the 20 controllees who agreed to the interview, most added: "As long as it's okay with my officer."

With permissions from the department in hand, I phoned the officers at each of the department offices once again to get the contact information I needed. I had not previously driven out to one of the rural offices, so my first meeting there was with the supervisor. She led me to the conference room and asked two of the officers—one the control officer and the other a probation officer—to join the conversation. The discussion moved beyond the questions of my interest in families to the experiences of the officers and the goals of the department. It was obvious that officers and supervisors, too, were actively working toward compliance, their own as well as their clients', in managing the worlds of families and criminal justice. Clearly, I needed to know more about their official roles. So, when the supervisor suggested that I apply to the Department of Corrections to work as a volunteer in her office, I was delighted with the offer. Following two weeks during which background checks were made and my residence verified by an officer who came to my door on a Sunday afternoon, I was officially a Department of Corrections volunteer. Moreover, I had full access to the confidential records of all controllees in the district! I did not examine participants' files, however, since the data contained therein was not necessary for my research. As in my original research design, I wanted to respect the privacy of these individuals as much as possible.

I still feared that some controllees would be uneasy about my relationship with the Department however. As it turned out, that was not the case. Several times I met controllees who came to the rural offices on reporting day and were introduced to me by

their case officers who identified me as a researcher from the University of Florida who would like to talk to them. At these times, I would explain my project briefly and, if they were willing, I would make an appointment to come to their homes. While most said they were glad to see that my records could not be subpoenaed, all seemed comfortable knowing that I had the approval of their officers. In these cases, too, the officers and I always emphasized that my research was not sponsored by the Department, that participation was voluntary, and that the decision whether or not to participate would not affect their supervision in any way.

The Activities of Interviewing

Interviews were audio-taped and usually took about an hour. Sometimes other family members, particularly children, were nearby. Occasionally a spouse or significant other would take an active role in the interview. At other times, I interviewed family members separately, however the restrictions of house arrest, and the usual cramped living spaces of apartments and trailers, made it almost impossible in some cases to have privacy during interviews. For the most part, input from other members provided richer data and an opportunity to experience their collaborative efforts as a family. I was able to do several focus groups with all family members present, but these were more beneficial to me in typifying family circumstances than in providing narrative data for analysis. Except for one family, most children appeared uncomfortable in talking about family activities and resorted to looking toward a parent or older sibling for approval before speaking, giggling, or simply not speaking at all.

Sharon Kaufman (1994) makes an important point which I have kept at the forefront of my interviewing, indeed in all interactions during this research. She says: "In in-depth interviews, the investigator initiates a dialogue with a real person and engages the interviewee as human being, not as study subject" (p. 123). This helped to keep the multidimensionality of the research in place. Although Kaufman's use of the word investigator has an unfortunate positivistic ring and is unsettling to persons who have experienced the criminal justice system, the point is that interviews are dialogues in which all parties are engaged. They are, in production and effect, matters of interpretive practice. To explain the rationale for using in-depth interviews in the current project, I quote extensively from Holstein and Gubrium (1995):

> Why, then is interviewing an especially useful mode of systematic social inquiry? The answer lies in the interview situation's ability to incite the production of meanings that address issues relating to particular research concerns. In the conventional view of interviewing, the passive subject engages in a "minimalist" version of interpretive practice, perceiving, storing, and reporting experience when properly asked. Our active conception of the interview, however, invests the subject with a substantial repertoire of interpretive methods and stock of experiential material. The active view eschews the image of the vessel waiting to be tapped in favor of the notion that the subject's interpretive capabilities must be activated, stimulated, and cultivated. The interview is a commonly recognized occasion for formally and systematically doing so. (p. 17)

As an ethnomethodologist, my purpose as an interviewer is to engage the respondent in fashioning the connections, the linkages, between various accounts of their experiences in order to illuminate the narrative structure of their meanings. I am not concerned about uncovering a single, all-encompassing Truth. Instead, the interview produces many individual truths and, as such, is an interpretive experience in practical

reasoning (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p. 20; Garfinkel, 1967). In this sense, the interview is, itself, a part of the analysis. Although the strategies of fashioning linkages appears to have cultural variations, the goal of active interviewing encourages both subjects and interviewers to continually produce, refine, and edit meanings. Analysis, therefore is not only ongoing; it is, in a sense, an interactive experience as well.

A Life Stories Approach

For the most part, I've relied on a life stories methodology to organize the interviews with offenders and family members. Life stories, as an interview and analytical strategy, frequently is used to articulate dimensionality in studies of aging (Kaufman, 1986; Savishinsky, 1991; Gubrium, 1993), personality formation (Linde, 1993; Alasutaari, 1997), and in viewing biographical, or identity work (Gubrium and Holstein, 1995a; Gubrium and Holstein, 1995b). As convicted felons, the participants whom I interviewed had, in effect, a "spoiled identity" (Goffman, 1963). I was concerned that my work not further stigmatize them. A life stories methodology provided a vehicle for telling the story the way *they* wanted it told.

Theoretically, the concerns of life stories are not separate from the institutionalized meanings that constitute family discourse more generally. As Charlotte Linde (1993) notes, "life stories touch on the widest of social constructions, since they make presuppositions about what can be taken as expected, what the norms are, and what common or special belief systems can be used to establish coherence" (p. 3). Moreover, as strategies of accountability, they are useful in shifting analytic lenses between formal and informal worlds (Scott and Lyman, 1968). In other words, a life stories approach

provides a means for members to move between the worlds of family and criminal justice as they need to construct their version of everyday life in which the problematic under consideration here is ongoing.

My approach in most cases was to tell members that I was interested in what it was like for families to be on Community Control. For some, that was all the encouragement needed. Many times, people began talking about their situation before I had explained the project or started the tapes. Although I had to interrupt these narratives to get the required consent forms signed, I always told the person that we'd continue from that point. By reminding them of what they were saying when I interrupted, they knew that I was actively listening, and they were ready and willing to reiterate certain points and continue from where they left off. For those who waited for me to begin the interview, I suggested thinking about their lives as chapters of a book. What would the chapters be? This technique was helpful to many who then returned to the chapters to elaborate further. The book metaphor provided an organizational form for my analysis of themes as well.

In a few cases, I sensed that interviewees were embarrassed when they didn't know how to begin organizing around this scheme. After that happened a few times, I changed my approach and began most interviews with the directive: "Tell me what its like to be on Community Control." Later, if someone seemed comfortable in organizing their narratives linearly, I'd ask them to contextualize their stories as chapters. This strategy provided a means for them to prioritize their accounts and add elements that had not been included earlier, or to re-emphasize and re-story their initial accounts.

Even so, the conventional story pattern — "beginning, muddle [sic], and resolution" (Atkinson, 1998, p. 19) appears situationally and culturally biased or, at least, a function of education. Very commonly, the family stories I heard seemed to begin in the "muddle" and stop at what seemed to me a beginning. A narrative account might even consist of a series of beginnings, but with, perhaps, a single resolution, or no resolution at all. Yet, focusing on them as a practical activity, illuminates the ways in which the story is made coherent and personally authentic and provides markers from which I was able to elicit further elaboration (Gubrium and Holstein, 1998).

The Study Participants

Although my initial intent had been to limit my data to that gained during family member interviews, I was unable to separate the world of the officers and "the system" from the study. The official world of criminal justice incited the conditions of home confinement and intensive supervision, and it was the officers and supervisors who most directly mediated the competing worlds. Certainly, then, these and other practitioners are subjects of the research, and, for purposes of this study, I have set their role as the narrators of the "official version" of criminal justice. They are important, too, in that they provided the names, addresses, and phone numbers of the controllees whom I might interview. Thus their selection shapes the data as well.

Profiles from the Field - Families for Study

During the months prior to beginning formal interviews with offenders and family members, I called on supervisors and control officers to discuss my project. I wanted to know, first of all, was my project feasible, and secondly, did those in the field view it as

important to policy makers and practitioners? In all, I met informally with four supervisors and six case officers during this time. Briefly, I described my project and asked for their comments, and sought their descriptions of who would likely constitute the subjects of my research. Typically, their responses began with a profile of the offender/families I could expect to encounter. According to one supervisor: "The 2-parent, male breadwinner family is atypical in University City, although they may be more typical in the rural areas." As she spoke, an officer came in. Hearing her say this, he continued: "This is true. More typical are a man on Community Control with a series of live-in girlfriends. Either he or she will have children. Live-ins are coming and going all the time."

His supervisor added her concern that I would have difficulty finding families that fit my criteria of two adults and their children. "Circuit-wide, they're not here," she said. She added that, in her experience, most offenders sentenced to Community Control are single and male.

I asked if I might find more families if I extended my interest beyond the two-parent model to include other relationships within the household. She immediately suggested that I include "the sex offender population" as a group about which little was known. "Usually," she said, "these men are living with wives or girlfriends with court approval. Some are on probation, others on Community Control. If it were up to me, all of them would be on Community Control." She noted further that "violence usually continues in these homes." Although she suggested that perhaps my study should concentrate on these offenders, I chose to exclude them altogether at this time for two

reasons. First, they had different officers and court-ordered requirements than other controllees. More importantly, counselors and public defenders had stressed the social stigma that is attached to these offenders and, consequently the secrecy with which they surround themselves. From an ethical standpoint, I could not justify breeching their need for privacy under the circumstances.

Another supervisor asked if my intent was to interview only married couples. I asked his thoughts on that. He responded that there are "different dynamics" among those couples that are married and those unmarried. He thought these dynamics were important in whether or not the offender completes control or is "violated."

> When you have guys with girlfriends, you'll hear them [the girlfriend] say, "I'm going down to the bar. You can't go." There's more likelihood that he's going to violate. It's the friends and families that make or break success. A loose relationship is different than married. Some of these guys just say: "Send me to prison. I can't deal with it."

Marriage meant commitment to this supervisor and the level of support from the partner was embedded in the social construction of marriage-as-commitment. I asked: "Are there other typical situations that you see besides marrieds and girlfriends?"

"Roommates of the same sex—not homosexuals," he said. "They, too, do things that make it tempting. With Community Control there are overcompelling [sic] restrictions to stay at home."

Another officer also saw differences in household composition as a condition of daily life on Community Control. She, however, constructed this difference as cultural. She described Hispanic families as having members more involved with each other and more likely to offer support. She saw no typical family situation, however, and didn't

think judges pay much attention to whether or not offenders are married or single. Yet, she noted: "Those who have a significant other for support are the ones most likely to make it. They need the social. And if they can't get their sexual needs met at home, they will go out for it. That's a given." I asked what she meant by home support, and she gave this example: When an older teen was sentenced as an adult and placed on community control, "his father went out and bought computers, a VCR, and everything so that his friends could come in and party." I was to find later that (a) only two of the controllees who agreed to be interviewed had computers, nor did they have the discretionary income to buy one; and (b) most controllees living with family members were older and had far more responsibilities than the teenager she described.

Most of the officers and supervisors with whom I spoke early on, as well as the officers, counselors, and public defenders with whom I spoke later, agreed that judges "don't realize the family implications" of Community Control, especially for single parents with children. One of the officers focused solely on the children. "It's tough on kids, particularly if they're in school," she said. All spoke of the importance of families for the controllees they supervised. An officer summed up what I heard over and over: "Those with families that help, make it on Community Control. Without that, they don't make it."

My conversations with officers showed me not only the direction to move in locating families for subjects but also the extent to which practitioners linked families to the support system necessary for compliance with the restrictions of Community Control. Without exception, each of the people to whom I spoke constructed their narratives of the

typical controllee within a framework of families as support systems. Clearly, then, the criteria of "family" among my research subjects is important to the matter of compliance. If officer perceptions were accurate, these controllees were, by definition, the ones most likely to "make it." As I was to find out, some did not.

The Subjects of the Research

After receiving the necessary approvals, I contacted each of the officers again to locate controllees that fit my very broad definition of family— adults living together in a relationship that includes personal responsibilities to each other or to their children. From their lists of clients at that time, the officers provided contact information on 27 controllees. Through repeated calls and visits to offices over the course of eleven months, I gathered a total contact list of 43 controllees, 16 women and 29 men. Most times, officers included the approximate ages of the controllees and the composition of their households so that I could weigh the appropriateness of their match for this research. As I explain in this section, not all of these persons were contacted, and some who were contacted did not participate. A profile of the total number referred, however, provides a broader view of the diversity of controllees' everyday lives even within this limited selection.

Within the total group, which I'll call the potential interview participants, the ages ranged from late teens to early 60s. Among the women of this total group, five lived with a grandparent, three with boyfriends, two with an adult son or daughter, and one each with a mother, a sister, a husband, and a girlfriend. Two single mothers had no other adults in the household. The household composition of males was somewhat different.

All five of the teens in the total group were male. Four of them lived in two-parent households and one lived with a single mother. There were younger siblings in two of these homes. Although I did not interview any of the teens, I was in two of the homes, both of which were more spacious and fashionably decorated than any of the homes of my older subjects.

Four single men over age twenty lived with their mothers, although one who moved in with his sister during his second year on control, was violated on charges of a new offense shortly after he moved there. Other family compositions among the men included ten men living with girlfriends, five with wives, one with his two adult sons, and one with a best friend who he described as "the only family I can really count on now." There were minor children in 24 households total, 12 with women and 12 with men. The biological children of two of the women and one of the men were in foster care, however, in each of these cases, the controllees' new families included a current partner's children. Moreover, three of the men had children living with an ex-spouse, and the children were frequently scheduled for weekly visits at their fathers' homes.

These, then, were the potential interview participants from whom I began my more immediate selection.

Selecting Interviewees. I began simply by phone calls to each of the controllees as I received their names. In most cases I was able to make appointments with those controllees with whom I made contact by phone. However, making an appointment and finding the person home when I arrived there were two different things. Many times I drove out 35 or 40 miles only to find that the person's work schedule had changed or that

no one was home at all. Because inquiring about these difficulties may have compromised the ethics of confidentiality, I had no way of knowing whether or not these absences were approved or if they were instances of unchecked violations.

Or, take the case of one 17-year old high school student who lived with a parent. I had made an appointment and driven fifteen miles to his home. Although I had time to make my presentation, he said he had to leave for a job interview that evening and there was no time just then for my project. Because he said he was interested in participating, we rescheduled two other times, but I never found him home. Three months later his officer told me he had "rolled over" to regular probation with minimal supervision and was no longer on Community Control.

Although I always identified myself to the person who answered the phone in the home, I usually did not leave a call-back number. Instead, I tried again at later dates or times. If after four or five attempts I had still not reached the controllee, I either eliminated that person or waited several weeks before trying again. During the time that elapsed between receiving the controllee's name from the officer and my contact attempt, some controllees completed their terms successfully or were court terminated—that is, officially free of supervision; others were violated and incarcerated either in jail or prison, transferred to other districts, or, as one officer put it, some "hauled boogie." By that he meant the controllee had stopped reporting and could not be found. The latter group of controllees are officially categorized as absconders and warrants are issued for their arrest.

My initial presentation of the research objectives always included my preference to interview other family members as well. Some controllees who agreed to the interview preferred that I didn't talk with other members. As one woman told me, "family members don't much like strangers around asking questions." Sometimes, as I stated earlier, family members joined the interview with the controllee. I did not approach them for another separate interview at that time, although in some cases I interviewed them separately some months later. Besides the 29 controllees interviewed, I had multiple interviews (approximately 3-month intervals) with eight controllees, interviewed six spouses or partners and two minor children separately, and held family meetings with three families.

Even as I write this, my subjects lose their personhood and become "a group," "controllees," "family members," and even "absconders" and "arrestees." Like other researchers, I stand in peril of subordinating the subjects, that is, of objectifying and classifying them for my own needs. In some ways it is impossible to do otherwise. In the real world of experience, however, these were active subjects, talking to me on the phone and at kitchen tables, questioning me about my work and sometimes about my family, crying when their fears and frustrations came to the forefront of the interview, phoning to tell me good news about a job or a court date, and, many times, thanking *me* for the opportunity to talk about things they needed to say. This, then, is how I entered their world.

CHAPTER 4
CONSTRUCTING AN OFFICIAL PERSONA

When one enters the world of the criminal justice system through the doors of local enforcement, the sense of routine is pervasive. People coming in walk to the reception window, give their name and the name of their officer to the receptionist, walk to a table for a schedule sheet, take it to a chair, and begin filling it out. Along the way, they may nod to someone or say "hello." Some may know each other and sit together, but there is little talking. Eventually an officer appears at the door and greets a person sitting there. The door closes behind them. For those left, the wait continues.

Inside the offices, the work of officers and supervisors continues as routine work, usually "paperwork." For the most part, it is the routines that constitute the official version of criminal justice work, and these are most often demonstrated in relation to officer competence in complying with departmental rules. Compared to the accounts of daily life provided by controllees and family members, those of the officers appear singularly focused on cases and rules, on documents produced and data recorded and filed, rather than on interpersonal aspects of their work. The official persona of criminal justice and criminal justice workers emerges from the *who* and the *what* of system work.

For offenders on Community Control, as well as for their family members, the criminal justice system is encountered at the everyday level in the form of person-to-person contacts with the officers and supervisors who work at the local level. Since the

controllees have already come through the process of arrest and conviction, they and other family members have collaboratively constructed versions of what it means to encounter "the system." Their accounts—of the arresting officers "doing their job" or seeming "to enjoy being a prick," of public defenders or private attorneys who "handled their case all right" or "didn't seem to care," of the "aggravations" of jail time that "was barely tolerable"or "really not so bad," and of judges who "thought of my kids and did what's best" or "just rubber-stamped" an already unfair process—articulate the varied experiences and practical understandings that uniquely characterize their everyday world. Similarly, interpersonal relationships with their control officers and department supervisors shape their accounts of life on Community Control, and the officers, individually and as the system, become rhetorical resources for depicting the unique circumstances of control in their world. In that sense, offenders' and family members' accounts of everyday life construct an official persona that constitutes the reality of Community Control *for them*. Moreover, by narratively structuring their accounts of life on Community Control, they create a sense of family and community that compliments or resists the official version of who they are and what the system really is.

In this chapter, I examine the social construction of an official persona, first as observed among the front-line workers—officers and supervisors—who mediate between the criminal justice system and those who are the subjects of its policies. Secondly, I shift lens to examine how the official persona provides a rhetorical resource for controllees and other members as they communicate to me who they "really" are, as opposed to how they are officially viewed, and where they stand at the crossroads of

family and criminal justice where they experience the problematic of everyday life. Because the official criminal justice persona links to the family world through the work officers perform, it is necessary to look first at the way in which official work is organized around daily routines and practices of control officers and supervisors.

Official Work as Routine

In the everyday world of criminal justice, front-line officers and supervisors are in the business of compliance work. Typically, this business involves various routine activities accomplished in the office, in the courtroom, on the road, and in the homes of the clients and their families. As in most institutional settings, the work is routine in the sense that it must be completed with a certain regularity in order to maintain the organizational order within which the clientele are defined (Gubrium, 1975; Gubrium and Holstein,1997).

Making Cases

Although the officers usually refer to the controllees as "clients," they come into the system as "cases" through the courts, are recorded into the criminal justice system as "case numbers," and, subsequently, become an officer's "caseload." Most often, officers describe the work they do in terms of the number of cases that comprise their caseload. Because case loads frequently exceed the statutory limits, officers are likely to grumble perfunctorily about new cases as "more work" while knowing they have no choice in the matter. Whatever cases judges "send over" must be integrated into the routines.

A common understanding among officers is that a few judges "don't have a handle" on Community Control. That is, these judges fail to understand Community

Control as a prison level punishment and prescribe it as a lessor penalty. In one scenario, judges allow defendants to "plea bargain it into a lessor sentence," to plead guilty to a lessor charge eligible for Community Control rather than a mandatory prison sentence. Later these offenders, as controllees, are hostile to the officers claiming "the system lied" or their officer "has it in for them." "They don't know better," a supervisor told me as she related one such case. "They [the controllees] were expecting a good deal." Officers claim this scenario produces a hostile client when they realize that home *is* a prison cell, and the sentence is "very, very hard." "They're not ready for it," another officer said, "and they think it's all our fault. We're the bad guy in that situation." These beliefs, of course, fuel the social dilemmas centered on the overlapping worlds of home and prison under house arrest.

As caseworkers, officers are concerned about decisions that show a lack of judicial understanding of the social world of Community Control offenders. An officer provided an account of a man who was convicted of sexually molesting his former girlfriend's daughter. He was "given house arrest" but allowed to live with his new girlfriend. Predictably, according to the officer, the man molested her daughter as well. "You have to wonder about that," the officer said. Similarly, in another case, the offender was a man in his twenties on probation for numerous acts of burglary over a period of several years. Although he had served a short prison term, he was now on regular probation, a minimal supervision program, instead of Community Control with its provisions of home confinement and intensive supervision. After reading the account of his most recent violation, the supervisor turned to me and said: "Can you believe this guy

is on probation? Look at this. He has just one thing after another. I don't know what the judge was thinking." Then she added, "But he's the judge. He can do whatever he wants."

Besides these more dramatic cases, there are numerous examples of clients who violate their sentences and are reinstated on Community Control despite officers' claims establishing them as a "poor risk." Consequently, officers experience their caseloads as larger than they can reasonably supervise, while the types of offenders assigned to the program require increasingly greater supervision. Although officers and supervisors might question the rationale of judges in assigning offenders to Community Control, the "political culture" (Fergusen, 1984) of the criminal justice system recognizes that a judge's discretion is, for all practical purposes, unquestionable. Moreover, any question of the legitimacy of that authority would compromise their own claims of neutrality in carrying out their roles as "just doing what the judge orders."

Making Contacts

Reporting day and orientation meetings, as described in the previous chapter, are examples of how clientele merge with the flow of institutionalized routine office procedures. Although clients ostensibly report to "their officer," it is common at some offices for the supervisor or other officers to help each other as needed. This happens in a variety of ways. For instance, sometimes a client will claim something told by another officer. At these times, the case officer invokes the official rules of Community Control to legitimate or discredit the claim. This happened one reporting day when Officer Moroney was especially busy. He had met with a steady stream of clients, two of whom

he had chosen to "drug test." Another had presented justification for needing additional work hours, yet had not provided a clear picture of the employer for whom he alleged he was working. Officer Moroney had made several phone calls to verify the employment and clarify the employer's understanding of the restrictions this worker was under. Meanwhile, several other clients had arrived to see the officer and the waiting room was getting crowded. Seeing the backlog, the supervisor began to "fill in" for Officer Moroney, meeting with each client, taking payments and providing receipts, examining the self-reported "blue sheet" for evidence of progress, and finally, approving the client's schedule for the following week. Noting that one client, a man in his 30s, was unemployed and behind in his payments, she said: "You're behind. You need to get yourself a job."

"I'll catch up when it gets toward my time."

"It don't work that way. You have to pay every month."

As she ushered the man out of the office, she reiterated: "You can't fall behind. You bring in the money Friday, then keep it up. You can't fall behind."

Sometime later, while I was in Officer Moroney's office, the phone rang. It was the same man calling to repeat what he had already told the supervisor, that he couldn't pay the money by Friday but would pay it all near the end of his term on Community Control. Mr. Moroney told him: "That's not what [the supervisor] said you should do, and it's not the rules. You're supposed to pay every month. Just get yourself a job and you'll have the money." When Mr. Moroney mentioned the call to the supervisor later,

she told me: "They like to do that, and if you're not careful, you get sucked right in. We got to stick to the rules. That way we're all together."

Yet, on most days, officers are not physically present together in the office at any one time. Although their court appointments are scheduled ahead, their home visits are routinely scheduled for late nights, early mornings, any day of the week, to appear sporadic and unpredictable to the clients in the field. Hours "off duty," therefore, may be taken during times when the office itself is open for business. "Sticking together" and "filling in" for officers who are off duty or "in the field" provides a continuous service to clients and establishes a uniform level of competence among officers in their presentation to clients. In effect, officers, as functionaries in a bureaucratic structure, become interchangeable while the legitimacy of the rule-system is maintained.

Much of the rule-work of Community Control occurs via telephone. While in the office, officers are frequently interrupted from their file-work, by phone calls requiring immediate attention. Typically, these calls are from clients worrying about some turn of events or asking permission to deviate from the approved schedule. For example, one Monday morning call was from the girlfriend of a male client who had been arrested for battery over the weekend. She wanted to know how the new arrest would affect the man's Community Control status. After listening without questions for several minutes, the officer told her matter-of-factly: "I don't recommend reinstatement for a new arrest." He added that the only consideration might be if the battery charge was dropped.

Another caller, who normally worked only Monday through Friday, was requesting permission to work through the weekend. After verifying where the man was

working, the officer approved it, specifying a starting time of 8:00 AM. When the caller requested a starting time of 7:00 AM instead, the officer advised him to have his employer call "if it's a problem."

Occasionally, when officers reach an impasse in negotiating or explaining a rule-related issue, the call is forwarded to a supervisor for resolution. Again policy is invoked as the final word —"No sir. That is not what you're going to do because that's not the way it can be done." After a particularly exasperating call in which a woman insisted that she was told to bring the bond money for her husband to the Community Control office, I heard the supervisor say: "Well, that is something I certainly would do for you if I could do it. But you got to understand, there are some things we just can't do. You know how that is. You need to ask [names person]." After giving her a phone number, I heard the supervisor end the call by saying, "That's all right. That's why we're here, to help each other." Turning to the officer who had stayed standing nearby, she said, "She just couldn't get it straight that she was not going to bring the money here." The officer shook his head and responded with a short laugh, then returned to his office without further comment.

Because phone calls constitute a "contact made" with clients, officers will usually note the date and time of the call in their client logs. Similarly, work in the field—the home visits or "collateral contacts" with employers, neighbors, or relatives in the communities—fulfills mandated requirements of supervisory work for which the evidence of compliance on the part of both officers and clients is duly reported. Although these interactions constitute a significant event in the client's life on control and extend

institutional rules and routines into the domestic sphere, the face-to-face meeting with clients at the office or by phone is secondary in a sense to the official purpose of collecting monies and keeping records.

Collecting Monies

"Cost of supervision" (COS) and other mandated fees provide tangible evidence of the linkage between clients and the criminal justice system. Controllees (and probationers) are required by statute and by the Court to make monthly payments as part of their supervision. Collection and recording of these payments constitutes an important aspect of reporting day routines. Payments mandated by statute are referred to as Cost of Service fees and are frequently documented as an acronym, COS. Payments, including a State legislated surcharge on these fees, must be made in the form of a money order or cashiers check. Typically, conversations between officers and clients on reporting day concern money—how much the client brought, how much is owed, how it will be paid if they're in arrears. Although "being behind" is a technical violation, the consistency of the record of payment indicates to officers and, if reported as a violation to the judge, that the client is making an effort to comply. In that case, officers will usually recommend to the judge a continuation of the current Community Control status.

Computer short-hand for "current cost balance" is "cur cos bal." While entering employment verifications one day, I had seen a cur cos bal as high as $4397 for one offender, and several others who owed $2000 or $3000. I asked an officer if clients like these would ever get the full amount paid. Noting that "ability to pay" is the most difficult item for officers to verify, she produced an example of "an almost impossible"

category of workers to monitor in all respects—commercial fishermen. She continued with an account of a man whom she described as "a serious pothead." The man, who was the son of a commercial fisherman and, ostensibly, one of a relative's employees, had been arrested for damaging property. In fact, he had been charged separately for each of the numerous items he had vandalized since each was on a different owner's property. Each conviction required a separate restitution form. Officer Davies said, "He's way behind, but there's no way we can figure out what he's earning." Linking the inability to assess earning potential to the "impossibility" of close monitoring she had mentioned earlier, she said: "With fishermen out on the water, they can't get in for their little weekly meetings, the drug rehab programs." She described one case in which a man "worked out a deal with the judge" so he had to report only every two weeks. "So. . . ," she sighed shrugging her shoulders and going back to recording payment updates on her computer. As she finished each one, the paper receipt—the "hard copy"—was added to the growing pile of papers to be filed.

Another day, an officer was carrying a similar stack of receipts. He looked tired. Like others in the office that reporting day, he had met clients all morning without a break and it was well past the noon hour. Looking at the papers, I commented, "That's a lot of money."

"If they all paid," he replied.

When I commented some time later about the amount of paper to be filed each week, another officer said, "That's all it is. Paper and money." Later, during interviews, many controllees were to echo this officer's words.

Technically, nonpayment constitutes a violation which, for probationers, can catapult them onto Community Control at the judge's discretion. For controllees, the result might be jail or prison. More likely, however, controllees are "rolled over" to probation until the fees are paid or an agreement is worked out with the judge. Although some officers express their belief that "people like these," that is, people who do not have the resources for paying the required fees, should not be sentenced to Community Control, collecting and recording the money is the business of being an officer. Again, in talking with their clients, they rely on official rules to insist on compliance.

Strategizing Consistency

Routine activities not only neutralize the relationships between clients and their officers but also maintain the hierarchal system that legitimates the authority of the officers and their work. The problematic for officers is ongoing in these activities. For example, one officer spoke of the role of the officer in this relationship as a balancing act in which officers must be ever alert to the perils of inconsistent decision-making. We had been talking about what she felt was the most important consideration in the role of an officer—treating all offenders alike—when she told this story:

> For instance, [Name of another officer] had a case where the person had completed certain requirements, most everything, but he hadn't paid all his money. He [the officer] was going to petition the Court on behalf of the guy. I just said, "Don't do it, not unless you're prepared to do it for them all." It happens so often that you can't do it. It has to be the same for all.

This officer told how she monitors her own routines to avoid the charges of favoritism, and more specifically, racism.

> When I make my rounds I have to pay attention to racial distribution. I often stop at a guy's home, then back-track around the block or down the road a ways and drive by again to make sure he hasn't left. This guy saw me do it and said it was because he's black. I said, "No, I do it to everybody," but you have to watch what you do because they're watching you.

For this officer, the usualness of the event—in this case, nonpayment of fees and home visitation—conditioned the way in which she established consistency as routine work. Consistency constitutes fairness, thus routines provide a means of eliminating discrimination and assuring "it's the same for all." Echoing the officer's portrayal of her role, a supervisor noted the importance of "sticking to the rules" in relation to officers: "That way, it's the same for everybody. I can always answer their complaints with, 'I'm just following the rules. They can complain, but they got to do it. It don't bother me. They got to follow the rules and I can help them. I won't take insubordination."

The importance of consistency comes up repeatedly as officers create the documents that will be used by the court, since these documents produce the client that the court will evaluate. Violation reports require particular attention because they not only construct a noncompliant offender; they also produce the competency of the officer in facilitating the work of compliance. These orders are routinely submitted to the Court when a controllee or probationer (a) fails to make cost of service or other payments as required, (b) is arrested for any reason, (c) fails a drug test, (d) fails to report as scheduled, or (e) is found outside the particular boundaries set as a condition of the sentence.

Typically, a violation report consists of three or four pages organized as follows: Page one is the cover sheet with the case "ID" and defendant's address in the upper right hand corner. The judge's and case officer's names are centered. Below them are three alternative actions, one of which the officer is supposed to recommend to the judge: Warrant requested, notice requested, and remain under supervision. The second page begins a narrative with instructions for case officers to include "how the violation occurred (give facts)," "subject's statement," "history of supervision," and "recommendations." The violations are each listed separately with the number of the condition of probation violation cited, and its official (statutory) description quoted in full. The third page is an affidavit in which each condition is again cited and quoted. The fourth page is the recommended official action prepared for the judge's signature. Consistency in preparing these documents is not just a role expectation. It is a strategy used to move the judge in favor of the officer's decision. We see that in the following situation that involves a new offense committed by an offender already on Community Control. The supervisor had already studied the violation report and was reviewing it with the officer who had prepared it.

Supervisor: This is nice here. This is consistent.

She moves further down the page to a highlighted section.

Supervisor: Now, this doesn't follow along. We have to be careful about consistency. This [the new offense] is a misdemeanor and he's got a felony conviction already. You can't recommend jail time on a felony because that's a lessor sentence than the one he has now. You can't go down from the guidelines. I didn't score this, but I'm sure it comes out higher because felony conviction is already there. Remember when the judge talked to us about that? You always

> have to reference back to the guidelines. That way it will be consistent. Do you understand what I'm saying?

Officer: Yah, I do.

Supervisor: If you don't, let me go over it again. The guidelines are what we got to use. You can't recommend jail time, but you can put down 'incarceration'. Let the judge sort it out. You'll have to change this.

She gave the file back to him and he left the room. She turned to me and again talked about consistency: "It doesn't work," she said, "if you get to court and you give one person one thing and be lenient with another. They got to be treated the same. It's got to be fair. Otherwise, they'll challenge you. And I would too. It can't be one thing for one and something light for another." After my further questions about the guidelines, she told me of cases in which officers were charged with contempt of court for not having their orders clear and consistent. "Judges will criticize a caseworker in court for documents that are poorly written," she said, then continued:

> I follow the rules to the letter. That way, if I am challenged, I can go right to the book and say 'here it is.' And that's fair. These are people's lives. We don't want to make mistakes. We have to be fair with them.

Yet for this supervisor, as well as for many of the officers with whom I spoke over the course of two years, the hardest part is disciplining someone. "We're always the bad guys," an officer told me. "They don't really see that we care." That bothers the supervisor too, however, she adds, "by sticking to the rules, I have a way to say it's not the person but what they did or didn't do."

Thus, the documents that produce the offender under the particular circumstances of the report, also produce the accountability of the officer who prepared it. In the official version, at least, accountability and consistency are one.

Constructing Success

The beliefs that individual criminal justice workers bring to their roles condition the way in which they carry out their responsibilities in the field, yet the collective understandings of their clients are embedded in the official persona they present. Officers and supervisors have their own theories of who "makes it" on Community Control, mythical in the sense that they invoke a common stock of knowledge within the department. Depending on the circumstances of the conversation, officers and supervisors are quick to invoke one or the other of these understandings to construct an image of the successful candidate.

"The job is the key," said one supervisor as we talked about the three young men who had arrived at the control office together that day. The men had been boisterous as they approached the office and, later, as they returned to their vehicle, they had argued over who would drive. Clearly, she noted, they are "disorganized," and "if they can't get their act together over who's going to drive, how can they make it on Community Control? That's why they mess up." Framed as a evidence of a lack of social integration in their lives, she linked the observed behaviors of these men to the common understanding of what constitutes the organizational skills necessary for complying with the restrictions of Community Control. Unequivocally, getting organized meant having a job: "Over and above family or anything else, it's the job. When they have a job, they

know how to keep in contact. They do things on time. Without a job, they don't have the knowledge of what's expected." She noted that businessmen were particularly good candidates for Community Control because they understood "their capital will be depleted if they go to prison." Not only were successful candidates organized to do things on time and in the right place, they were organized around the objectives of the dominant marketplace.

More often, however, the theories of success focused on family as the most crucial resource. "It's the friends and families that make or break success," an officer told me. "When you have guys with girlfriends, you'll hear her say, 'I'm going down to the bar. You can't go.' He's more likely to violate." Characterizing "unmarrieds" as "loose relationships," he explained the "different dynamics between married and unmarried couples."

> A loose relationship is different than married. Some of these guys just say, "Send me to prison. I can't deal with it. . . .Roommates of the same sex—not homosexuals—they, too, do things that make it tempting. With Community Control there are overcompelling restrictions to stay at home.

In other accounts, the legal status of couples was ignored and, instead, the relationship itself was emphasized. Significant others, married or unmarried, made the difference in these accounts.

> They have somebody to help them out, to do things for them. They've got to learn how to depend on others because they can't do it. If they have a significant other, it makes a difference.

More generally, however, it is family, however it is defined, that makes the difference.

> Like this guy [on drug offender probation] who was living with his mother and she didn't want to keep him after he was on Community Control. He had been doing well there, but on his last day before moving out of her house, he violated.

Viewed against a conventional understanding of family as a support network, success is only possible if the network is "in place," that is, if family members are performing those tasks which the controllee is no longer allowed to do. Without that support, violations are inevitable, which again fuels the everyday problematic of the contrasting and overlapping worlds of house arrest.

Although the subjective understandings of "what it takes" are given informal precedence, departmental policy and official practice provides an evaluative tool, an assessment survey, that is used with new controllees. As explained by an officer who noted the special training required for its administration, the assessment follows a formal interview protocol and is conducted face-to-face. Each response is scored, and the final score is divided among four categories. Each becomes a focus for designing an individualized program for the client. For example, noting that the offenses of a client were all alcohol related, the officer might require the person to attend meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous on a regular basis.

> Or, if someone has only an eighth grade education, the goal may be to get a GED. But I wouldn't tell the person what's needed; I'd send them to vocational rehab to find out what's needed before the next reporting day. By the following week, they'd be required to sign up for two classes.

Noting the apparent contradiction between the goals of the assessment model and the emphasis of Community Control as punishment, she said: "Community Control is

the most intensive level of supervision and punishment in Florida. It's not rehabilitation. But I don't want to set people up to fail. We have to help them."

Occasionally, officers find ways to offer another chance to controllees. One such case involved a teenager whose family was well-known in the rural community. As the supervisor reviewed his file, she turned to the officer and asked what was happening "on him." "He's sittin' in jail," the officer replied. "He's way behind on his payments. Before he went to jail the last time, I told his daddy he was way behind. It didn't do no good, so I didn't wait to violate him this time."

For those controllees who were "in compliance" but in need of help beyond the resources of the department, officers sometimes invoked family to resolve matters that criminal justice resources failed to address. For example, after conducting an assessment for a forty-year-old physically disabled controllee who had a series of alcohol-related convictions, an officer was at a loss for what to recommend. The man lived with his parents who, like most of the people he said he knew, were alcoholics. He noted that he "gets along with others," and added: "I don't touch nobody." He said he had been married, but his wife left him. He is lonely now and would like a relationship, but, he summarized, "they tend to come and go." Although he had applied for jobs, he said he had applied for some but was never hired. He had not been court-ordered into any rehabilitative programs.

"Maybe we can find counseling for you, or something," the officer said. Yet, without transportation and having no money, there was little help available in this rural county. Moreover, as the officer was unable to reconcile the profile with the calculated

score because the man's responses and his situation as physically disabled and requiring a wheelchair failed to provide a "fit." Shaking his head, the officer muttered: "I don't know where we're going to help you. I'm supposed to list a behavioral outcome. I have to come up with a plan to help you." After the man left, the officer expressed his frustration that there was "nothing available for the guy." He added, "He kind of needs family guidance."

The "Good" Officer Persona

As a whole, officers and supervisors present a multidimensional image of their role and, as one officer put it, "what it takes to be a good officer." A supervisor and I had been talking about my experiences in riding with officers in the field and being present for an intake inventory conducted at the home of a new controllee. This young woman, the mother of two small children, lived with her mother, who had temporary custody of the children. There were four other minor children in the home at the time. The woman had been convicted on a drug-related charge and was to serve six months on Community Control. Although she was ordered to remain on the premises of her mother's home, she was out on the street in front of the house with a group of friends when we arrived. When she recognized the officer, she immediately approached his car, and, as we walked toward the house together, she explained the circumstances. By her account, the friends didn't know she was "on control" and had stopped by to "hang out." She was on the street explaining to them why she would not be able to go with them. The officer acknowledged that it was important for her friends to know her restrictions because "we

mean business," however, he told the controllee that the street was "off limits" to her. The next time, it would be a violation.

After verifying that, indeed, this type of incident was common in the field, the supervisor illustrated what makes a good officer: "A good officer learns to read what offenders are really saying. They watch to see if the person trips themselves up." Yet, he added, "Circumstances change. A good officer needs firmness one way or another."

Along with consistency and fairness, firmness constitutes another dimension of the good officers' role and facilitates the job at hand. Frequently, firmness is typified in three descriptive forms—as "softies," "hard-noses," and "the middle ground." Officers talk about career progression as a process from "softie" to one of the other two categories; where they are now is often depicted as circumstantial. "I went from softie, to hard-nosed," an officer told me. "But now I try to take a middle ground. You have to be reasonable and take into account that people have lives as complicated as your own. At the same time, they make their own choices." Hearing our conversation, another officer said, "Ya, she started as a softie, but then she met me. I'm a hard-nose. That's just the way I am. I tell 'em right out, I *am* going to violate you." As the conversation continued, the supervisor joined us and said, "It's hard. You want to understand 'em, but it comes back at you." Her words were reminiscent of the supervisor quoted earlier who justified her approach of "sticking to the rules" saying, "That way, if I am challenged, I can go right to the book and say 'here it is.' And that's fair. These are people's lives. We don't want to make mistakes. We have to be fair with them."

Occasionally, when the officer's role extends into the community at large, that authority is challenged by someone peripheral to the system. At that point, another dimension of the good officer persona emerges—that of "official competence." One incident in which official competence was articulated stands out. I was working at a rural office one morning when a tall, well-dressed man came in to see the supervisor. After the initial greetings and introduction, they moved to her office. Ordinarily, the supervisor's door was left open; however, for this meeting, she closed the door. About twenty minutes later, the pair emerged from her office. They shook hands. She told him she was sure glad he came in and that he should come back again so they could talk more. He said he would, and that he was really glad he had stopped by. After he left, she gave me the following account of the meeting.

That was good," she began. "I turned lemons into lemonade. Sometimes you got to do that." She explained that the man was the employer of a controllees and had come in alleging the officer was harassing his employee. He described how the officer would come and check up on the controllee on the job as well as at home. After listening to him, the supervisor explained the program of Community Control and how its level of supervision was different from probation. She said:

> I told him I was happy to hear that report on my officer because that's exactly what he should be doing. I told him, when you tell me my officers are keeping the public safe by making sure they always know where the controllee is, that's good for me and it's good for you too. That way he knows it's okay to hire people on Community Control because they won't be a danger because they're supervised.

When he left, the man told her he'd be willing to work more closely with the department and would let her know any time he had job openings. "You got to let people know that we do a good job. Then they can help us." Thus, the official version of "the good officer" extends into the criminal justice world into the community through the protective arm of the system. For all practical purposes, the officers, judges, and other criminal justice workers —as the visible links to both community and controllees—*are* the system.

While the criminal justice system organizes the official agenda of supervision policies and practices, the interpretive agenda of officers and supervisors performing their roles shapes their day-to-day interactions with clients. Steeped in the conventional discourse of justice and punishment, an image of the typical controllee emerges as (a) an individual who has further potential for deviance, and even danger, if given the opportunity; (b) one who makes rational choices in regard to personal behavior; (c) one who deserves both fairness and punishment; and (d) one who calls the system to task in matters of consistency related to the legal case at hand. Just as this official controllee persona emerges through the routine work of officers and supervisors, it is similarly and simultaneously used by them to perform the supervisory duties over their clients. Whether "hard-nosed" or "softie," officers know who they are and who they want to be by how they perform their roles circumstantially. Thus, each experiences the problematic in the official world in their own way.

Constructing Worlds of Contrast

Just as we saw among officers and supervisors, the daily life of their clients-as-offenders cannot be separated from the routines imposed by the criminal justice system as a whole. Recalling the official version, all controllees have the same requirements. A single set of rules are established to apply equally to all controllees in order to assure consistency and fairness. Rule emphasis neutralizes complaints; written rules provide a rhetorical resource against which all challenges to the discourse of fairness and equality can be argued. From the perspective of the official world, the worlds of controllees can be similarly homogenized. However, here again the problematic of competing worlds is narratively evident.

The officially documented lives of controllees play out in a lived world of experience, and that world includes phone calls to relatives, transportation problems, trips to the emergency room, school conferences, children in foster care or with custodial parents outside the household, jobs terminated, new employment found, rent and child support to pay. It is an ordinary world, and in that sense, the experiences are not significantly different than those of family members anywhere. However, their lives under the circumstances of Community Control are further embedded in the strictures of written rules and disciplinary policies, which draws our attention to the problematic of home when it is also a prison cell. Compared to an official world of "blue sheets," payment receipts, employment verification, or even violation reports, that constitute their unidimensional identity as criminal justice cases, these lives are exceedingly complex. That complexity emerges through the various themes and subtexts that organize the

stories controllees and controllees, as family members, tell about their efforts to fit into the system. As the following extracts show, the family-focused versions vary greatly according to the circumstances, yet the official version is always available, a ready narrative resource, in the construction of a family perspective.

Controllee Adam's Story

Adam is thirty-one years old and lives with his girlfriend, their newborn infant, and her two preschool children. He and his wife are separated, and their biological children are in foster homes. Adam was recently released from jail for a Community Control violation. Against the advice of his public defender who was aware of Adam's limited resources and the rigorous demands of house arrest, Adam pleaded with the judge to give him another chance on Community Control so that he could continue his efforts in reuniting with his biological children who were now in foster care.

It is raining heavily the morning I interview Adam and his girlfriend in their small two-bedroom apartment. The little girls are playing quietly nearby, and the newborn lies sleeping between the parents on the sofa as we talk. When I ask Adam to tell me about life on Community Control, he constructs a narrative that ties the conditions of Community Control and the circumstances of joblessness and lack of transportation together around the theme of hardship, biographically specifying the meaning of house arrest.

> You mean like what would I be doing? (Okay.) Oh, I don't know. I'd probably be goin' somewhere tryin' to work or getting some other stuff done. [Elaborates.] You know, we ain't got transportation right now too. That's kind of hard on us, you know, gettin' around as far as the way he [the officer] set it up. [Elaborates.] Like I said, it's hard to do, unless my

> Mom or somebody might, you know, one of them might come by and they'll run, you know, take us where we need to go. Probably like that.

Adam continues to talk about the difficulties he has finding someone to take him to the city twenty miles away where he must report weekly. His officer has told him to "thumb it" if he has no other way. Meanwhile, he faces an employment dilemma. The small town where he lives has few opportunities for employment except for an elementary school and a prison. As a convicted felon, he is restricted from working in either place. Without a car, and restricted to his current county of residence, he cannot look for work further away in University City where his children are in foster care, nor can he hope to find and maintain the housing he needs to regain custody. The more immediate concern is that, without a job, the money he owes for control can't be paid. That will be a violation for which he believes he will go to jail and will not be able to see any of his family. He summarizes, repeating the theme of his narrative, and adding a second dimension:

> It is hard, and they don't care. They don't care nothin' about you. . . .All they want is they [sic] money and that you report in to them on their schedule. That's it—and be here when they come by.

Controllee Quentin's Story - "It's all inside of you."

When I arrived early one Saturday afternoon for the interview, Quentin was raking the dried leaves from the sand at the front of the trailer he shares with his girlfriend and their infant son. I complimented his garden at the side of the lot, and he described it as something he "loves to do" because it's outdoors. It is where he spends most of his time when he's home and, he added, his officer can see him as he drives up. As I did in

each interview, I asked Quentin to talk about his life in relation to Community Control. "It ain't that much of a restriction 'cause I stay home a lot anyway," he responded. "And I'm always workin' so—my hours of workin' compensate for any time I need. So really, it ain't been so bad." What he missed was fishing, but, he said, "One year, I can handle that." Quentin depicted his officer and other corrections workers he had spoken with at the control office as "just real good people. Just real good people, you know. And [names his officer] he's good people. And they're humans just like us. They've got a job to do."

Although Quentin had been on Community Control only three weeks, he said it was unlikely that his feelings would change. "It's what you make it," he said. "It's all inside of you." While "hard" time for Adam was articulated as a lack of caring on the part of officers and an anonymous system, Quentin portrayed a unity between himself and a system metaphorically described as humans who care.

Hanna's Story - "It teaches you a valuable lesson."

Hanna has been "on control" for five months and has only one month left. Although she is a single parent, two of her sons are already adults and her youngest son, age seventeen, spends little time at home. She works full-time in a job with regular hours which, she says, makes her circumstances "easier" than it would be for someone who is at home all the time. For Hanna, Community Control is a restriction on freedom. Although it is hard, it is manageable if you understand and accept its conditions.

> It's hard not having your freedom, you know, but if—you have to work, so you *are* able to leave home. [Elaborates.] I think if you didn't have a job, it may get next to you being confined to your, to your home. But it

> just teaches you a very valuable lesson about freedom. Oh, ya. But it really hasn't been as bad as I thought it was going to be. They are very strict about what they tell you. They, they do not play. I mean, if they tell you one thing, that's, that's what you have to go by.

Hanna focuses outside of her home to the broader horizon of freedom to tell her story. Nearing the end of her sentence, she shifts her lens between past and future to provide a strategy for reconciling the home and freedom with the strictness that identifies the official rules of the game.

Controllee Janelle's Story - "It's hard."

Like many of the people I interviewed, Janelle's theme can be summarized by the words, "It's hard." Yet, she says, much depends on the officer, and, in her case, the officer is "pretty hard, but he's not—I mean, considering, you know—ridiculous."

Janelle will soon be twenty-one years old and has been on control for almost eighteen months. She says she has changed since the birth of her son, and would hate to be in prison instead of with him. He's fifteen months old now, and she and her housemate, Reena—a friend whom she describes as family—share in his care. Janelle frequently laughs about her officer's "ridiculous" attention to such professional ethics as not accepting a soft drink from her at the fast food place she works, but says he's been fair in allowing her to go to a nearby convenience store if she needs something for the baby. In those cases, she leaves a note for him showing the time she left and when she'll return. Although it upset her when he did not approve attending her sister's wedding reception, she says, ". . . but I can understand too from their point of view. So, from my other options [prison], it's much better. Still, it's hard."

Janelle's construction of fairness emerges, not from the consistency of rule application demonstrated earlier by the officer, but rather from the officer's discretionary use of authority in allowing her to meet her responsibilities as a mother. Hers is a story of transformation to motherhood, in a sense a story within a story. The contrast in her life is similar to Hanna's version of Community Control as a loss of freedom which Janelle links to the "normal" life of someone her age.

Controllee Nick's Story - It's aggravatin'.

Nick, a twenty-two year old man, lives out in the country with his girlfriend, her mother and stepdad, and her little sister. He works as a day laborer with a construction crew. Nick was outside when I got there, and he watched as I drove around the huge puddles that extended across the dirt road. The general theme of his narrative is that of "aggravation," which, for him, focuses on personal needs and interests which constitute the feelings of boredom. Except for the time he spends outdoors overhauling the engine of his sport utility vehicle, his days are all the same.

> Nick: Oh, it's kind of aggravatin'. Have to get off work early, go down every Monday, fill out a schedule. And you come home and you sit. I mean, if you need something, it's like, I'm out here by myself, I just can't go to the store and get what I need. And can't go to the movies any time, like with my girlfriend or something. I ain't went out, I ain't been out, able to go out with her or nothin'. [Elaborates, then shifts to his scheduling routine.] I take off just on Monday, 'cause I got a drug class at six o'clock and if I leave at 4 o'clock, go down there to [the control office], fill out my, my weekly schedule, I'll be late—miss my class—so I have to leave at 3 o'clock.
>
> Ansay: And you do all that on the same night. What do you do the other nights of the week?

Nick: I work and come home.

The routine life of Community Control is frequently portrayed as boredom or aggravation as controllees describe their everyday lives. The official world is real to him in the surveillance that keeps him "sitting" at home. Unlike the other controllees interviewed, Nick had little to say about himself in relation to other members in the household. Yet, as his girlfriend's little sister left the house with a friend, he called out a reminder for her to be home on time. "Just 'cause you have to," she replied laughing.

Orchel's Story - "It's a living nightmare."

Orchel had been on work release at the jail for three months when he injured his back. Because he couldn't work, he was released to Community Control and has been on it just over three months. Now he says, nobody in "the system" seems to know how much longer he'll have to serve.

Ansay: . . . and you don't know how much time you have left?

Orchel: No, it's really, everybody, even the judges don't know.

Ansay: Why not?

Orchel: Justice system. They don't know. [Elaborates.]

Orchel is a single man in his forties. With his girlfriend of three months sitting next to him and occasionally collaborating in the narrative, he tells a story of a system that is disorganized, a rule-system that fails to take individual needs into account, and an officer who is not only arbitrary and inconsistent in enforcing rule compliance but also malicious, unfair, and "irrational." In response to my directive to talk about life on Community Control he begins:

> I would tell anybody . . . you go up in front of the judge and ask the judge for jail time instead of Community Control. Jail time is much easier than Community Control. Community Control is worse than jail, worse than work-release. It's worse than prison. . . .Community Control is the very worst you can get in all respects.

I asked what made it worse, and he began an account of his first visit to the Community Control office after being released from jail.

> I walked in [his officer's] office. He looked up at me and he said: "I'm glad you showed up. I'm out of people. I violated 'em all. . . . I'm going to tell you something right now. I will violate you. You will be violated. You will go to prison." I never had a prison sentence. Nothing like that, and he's trying to make it come true. He's violated me already.

Like Adam's story, the stories of others who talked about their lives are complex because they need to be; stories constitute life on Community Control, and the lived experience of it in relation to home as a prison cell is complex. Yet each of the stories is simple in the sense of its interpretive agenda. Like Adam, the narrators have a story they want to tell— a theme concern, or thematic, that unfolds along a particular pattern to comprise a whole. Although subsequent chapters will examine particular accounts more fully, the following extracts, demonstrate the extent to which the themes and patterns vary when I initially ask controllees to tell me what it is like to be on Community Control. As is evident, there is no generalizable construction of a typical lived experience in these family circumstances, yet for each the admonishment—if you can't do it in prison, don't ask to do it here—applies.

Linking the Narrative Worlds

"Is it different for you on Community Control than it was when you were on probation?" I asked a young woman during an interview. "Oh, God," she responded.

"It's so much different. I mean, probation—anybody—you could do that and do our time and get off of it. Community Control, there's so much, so many moves you got to go through. You never get off it. I mean, it's just harder. It's aggravatin'. It's a pain in the butt."

Among the participants in this study, the particular orientation to the official version of criminal justice and their sentiments toward their case officer condition their narratives of life on Community Control. Moreover, the local culture of criminal justice and the circumstances in which they experience the interaction with their officers and other criminal justice workers organizes, and legitimates their feelings and beliefs. As the preceding quotation illustrates, practical reasoning conditioned by the circumstances of everyday life, rather than criminal justice logic, mediates a socially constructed version of the problematic of house arrest.

When we examine more closely the linkages between the narratives and the images constructed, we see that controllees' stories could not be told meaningfully without an "other" of some kind for comparison. Dorothy Smith's (1990) concept of "narrative contrast" is helpful here. She uses it to illustrate how narrators lead their readers (or in our case, listener) toward a particular understanding by organizing their account against an opposite version. Examining the methods used by a witness in his account of a police confrontation, Smith notes its "artful" construction, in which the speaker uses an "alternative schema" to support his claims against the officially reported version of the story:

> The narrative structure of incidents is organized by the mandated course of action as antithesis. The reader must know how to apply it in order to read the episodes as instances of [the kind of order claimed]. Each incident is constructed so as to exhibit specific failures on the part of the police to conform to the mandated course of action. The narrative structure must establish the inapplicability of the mandated course of action as a method of interpretation. (p. 143)

Although a few of the accounts that follow are synchronized to the official version, most accounts of life on Community Control construct "the inapplicability" of the official version of fairness and consistency in the criminal justice system *under the circumstances*. Rather than presenting narrative contrast as a dichotomous relationship, however, these accounts present a variety of divergent forms flowing into the wider stream of the life story. Note, for example, the way in which Petra constructs her version of "the good officer" first as the moral opposite of a mythical "other," then produces further evidence of that "other" to support her claim.

> Mr. Scott is a nice man. He knows. He try to work with you. It's up to you to do the right thing you know, but this man is good because, you know, you might not—some of 'em be dirty, nasty, don't allow you to go anywhere, not even to the grocery store. [Elaborates] But I have been—this is the second time I have been on house arrest. My first officer, I like him too, but when he went on vacation for two weeks, I had this other man. He was so rude. He was so nasty.

Petra describes a specific incident during which the officer's "rudeness" was demonstrated. She and her children were living with her mother at the time.

> One night he came to the house by like eleven o'clock. All of us in bed. He knew we went to bed early. He knew my Mama worked and everything, right? So he didn't have to disrespect my mama at that time, but he come to our house around eleven-thirty or twelve. I'm in the bed sleeping with my children. My mama—good thing she had just got up and went to the bathroom cuz when she was going back to the room she heard somebody knocking and she opened the door.

Petra's mother knew the regular officer, however this man was a stranger to her. When he announced himself as Petra's officer, her mother was not willing to let him in. According to Petra, they lived in a neighborhood in which late-night callers often meant trouble, again pointing to the local mediations of the controllee's experience. Frequently, someone looking for money—perhaps even Petra's brother, a drug addict—would be prowling about at night looking for money. Opening the door so late at night could expose the family to various dangers.

> Mama said, "No, you ain't." I heard my mama talkin' to him. I jumped up. I said, "Who is that Mama?" Then I told him he don't disrespect my Mama at this time of the night. He talked real nasty to Mama like that.

This account refers to a world of local meanings in which respect for others defines relationships within a moral context (see Anderson, 1978). Similarly, controllees challenge or support the official version of criminal justice fairness, consistency, and concern. In the process, they construct the official persona they need to tell their story. Petra's construction of the good officer is accomplished through an elaborate account of disrespectful officers. Tony's story, on the other hand, reverses the process to portray an officer who is "a real jerk." Other stories depict officers who can be called when a controllee, a long-term substance abuser, has a panic attack and fears that she will not be able to "hang on." Officers who "show their authority and be little smart-butts." Officers who "won't let you do nothin'," others who "really try to help." Although the constructed versions of the officers differ even within the space of a single interview, they appear as Janelle described them as "pretty much a microcosm of the social world." And

most controllees seem to agree with her in regard to life on Community Control—"A lot depends on your officer."

From the narratives of contrast and divergent forms, the official persona, with its emphasis on fairness, consistency, and concern, emerges as a mythical form that fulfills the needs of the organization itself. When applied to the circumstances of daily life, it frequently becomes its opposite or, at least, a lessor hybrid of its ideal. Yet, most controllees would agree on the strategies of compliance-work needed to mesh with the official version in which their actions are evaluated.

Whether they constructed narratives of anger and resistence, acceptance, or lessons learned, the lived experience these controllees portrayed could not be separated from the discourse of punishment in which their lives were embedded. In one way or another, even when common sense dictated otherwise, everyone I interviewed believed it necessary to "do what has to be done" so they could get on with their lives. "It's like being a child again," one woman told me, and I recalled what I told my own children as they were growing up: "You don't have to like it, you just have to do it."

CHAPTER FIVE
CONSTRUCTING CONTROLLED LIVES

Just as we saw among officers and supervisors, the daily life of their clients-as-offenders involves the routines imposed by the criminal justice system as a whole. Recalling the official version, all controllees have the same requirements. A single set of rules are established to apply equally to all controllees in order to assure consistency and fairness. Rule emphasis neutralizes complaints; written rules provide a rhetorical resource against which all challenges to the discourse of fairness and equality can be argued. From the perspective of the official world, the lives of controllees can be similarly homogenized.

The drama of the officially documented lives of controllees plays out in a lived world of experience, however, and that world includes phone calls to relatives, transportation problems, trips to the emergency room, school conferences, children in foster care or with custodial parents outside the household, jobs terminated, new employment found, rent and child support to pay. It is a domestic world, and, in that sense, the experiences are, perhaps, not significantly different than those of family members anywhere. However, these lives, under the circumstances of Community Control are also "organizationally embedded" in the strictures of written rules and localized disciplinary policies (Gubrium, 1990; Gubrium and Holstein, 1997). Compared to an official world of "blue sheets," payment receipts, employment verification, or

violation reports, that constitute a unidimensional identity for controllees as criminal justice cases, these lives are exceedingly complex. That complexity emerges through the various themes and subtexts that organize the stories controllees and family members tell about their efforts to "fit into the system," much of which relates to their social problematic.

The troubles of domestic ordering on Community Control are localized within families, but in Community Control they are vocalized through a "vocabulary of opposites" (Gubrium, 1992), showing the particular ordering of social relationships that constitutes *this* version of family-under-the-circumstances. In a way similar to the competing narrative resources that organize the broader linkages of criminal justice and families, oppositionals as vocabularies of meaning demonstrate compliance-work as an ongoing process of constructing and maintaining relationship boundaries within a criminal justice definition of family.

The focus of this chapter is on the way controllees construct domestic order as they experience the local dilemmas of their sentence to Community Control. I examine the narratives of controllees to show how family rhetoric shapes the re-ordering of the domestic world and, similarly, organizes compliance-work as embedded in the particular rule order that guides family life.

Expectations of Domestic "Normalcy"

The determination of a sentence to Community Control is within the discretionary authority of circuit court judges. In cases where offenders are "in violation" of their probation or control, case officers may make recommendations to the court based on the

offender's past record or the type of violation, however, both case officers and public defenders provided me with numerous examples of cases in which judges had "gone the route of Community Control" even when case officers had specifically recommended against it. The private attorneys to whom I spoke seldom advise Community Control for their clients. Instead, since many of their clients have substantial incomes, they seek regular probation to allow greater freedom of movement in their work. As one attorney noted, his clients see "their capital depleted if they [go] to prison." He thought of only two cases he has had. Both were businessmen classified as sexual offenders, and both "became workaholics while on Community Control." Although he claimed not to have thought much about the particular difficulties of home confinement sentences prior to our conversation, he shifted perspectives to family-talk as we spoke:

> Your study is timely right now. It's just a coincidence that just this week I had calls from two families on two separate cases. I didn't really think about it until now. The mother of the woman said she doesn't want the disruption [of Community Control] in her life. No Community Control. The next day, the family of a boy said if he gets Community Control they don't want him at home any more. I didn't really think about it. They must hear it from somewhere."

Some offenders choose Community Control over incarceration through plea bargains as part of the process of settlement outside the courtroom. Mostly these are first-time offenders facing long prison terms on the original charges such as "DUI's [driving under the influence of alcohol] with serious personal injuries in the case." The plea bargain, characteristically with the maximum two on Community Control followed by probation, is based on a lessor charge. Overall, however, public defenders are likely to advise their clients to "do time" in jail or prison rather than Community Control,

especially in those cases of previous probation or control violations. Referring to a case observed in court the previous day, one public defender asked rhetorically:

> "If the guy can't do the minimum required by probation, how can he do Community Control? If he gets in trouble and is irresponsible? Most of these guys are not goal oriented. They need that to make it. . . .Without jobs, and lots of time on their hands, they don't have a knowledge of what's expected."

Although controllees may lack the official version of what is expected for successful completion of their term on Community Control, they have a knowledge of their own world—they understand their local world of family and community. Sometimes this knowledge provides the basis for an idealized expectation that, if they are home instead of in jail or prison, their everyday world will, somehow, be unchanged. Consider these examples.

Controllee Quentin is relatively new to Community Control having been on it only three weeks. He and his girlfriend have a nine-month-old son who is just "gettin' to where he can pull hisself up in his crib." Quentin misses his fishing, but, because he organizes his life around work, family, and doing work in his yard and garden, he foresees little change in his daily life during the coming year on Community Control.

> I don't see any hard time. I expect to buy a piece of land before the year, or maybe next year. [Elaborates.] I'd have a bigger yard. Get a couple acres. You got more to work with. I love to garden. [And] I play with my baby boy.

Quentin has heard from others about the difficulties of being on control.

> Ya, a couple people I know have been on it. But, you know, they all talk bad about it. But really, it's not that hard. It's all in yourself, what you make it. You can make it hard. You can make it easy. You can—it's the person.

Quentin found his circumstances contradicted the grapevine myth of how bad life on Community Control would be. In the case of Controllee Emory, a young man who has been on Community Control ten months at the time of the interview, what he heard from others contradicted his circumstances as well, only in an opposite way. Initially, Emory was placed on probation which he violated. He was then arrested and spent several weeks in jail prior to his sentencing to Community Control. Based on what he had heard, he requested Community Control in order to resume what he thought would be his normal life. His narrative contrasts the present reality against these expectations:

> I don't think Community Control is right. I really don't. Because if—when I was in jail I was thinkin' Community Control was like you just in the community, not you can't leave out your door or your house without permission. That's what I was thinkin' it was. But it's not like that. You know, it's a totally different thing from what they say when you're in jail and from the officers. What they tell you is a totally different thing. . . and it's just confusing.

I asked if he would make the same request now that he had experienced Community Control first hand. In response, he continued his story of reporting to the officer on his first day out of jail and learning about the weekly schedule he'd have to write out.

> You got to let them know the time, the date, and everything. That's the way I thought it was. But in jail I was thinking, you know, it just Community Control *with* that. You get out, you can go in the community but don't go nowhere else. So, now I see it's like house arrest. You know, you still in jail. I'm still in jail. I mean, I am seriously still in jail.

Emory's understanding of community meant going to his mother's house, taking his young son to the park, taking his "girlfriend" (the mother of his son, and partner for twelve years) to the movies now and then. Speaking sadly in the voice of his girlfriend

who "is tired of it all," he says to himself: "No, Emory. It's like you got one foot in prison and one out." Most of the controllees with whom I spoke would agree with her. Even for those who offer a more moderate comparison, or say "it's not as bad as I expected, Community Control is narratively constructed as "very hard," and "something I don't want to do again."

Emory's life story is grouped around people who need him. In contrast to the official version of family support, Emory portrays his role as nurturer and caregiver for others who have earned his support. Frequently he depicts his current circumstances as being "cut off" even from his son and his girlfriend because his boundaries are still those he experienced while he was in jail. His image of family emerges as the obligations that constitute his role of son, father, and significant other.

The roots of Emory's obligations are established in the conditions of his home and early childhood. His mother raised him and, despite a disabling injury, she was there for him when he needed her. In his words, "she did it all." His father was absent from the home throughout Emory's life, and he still wonders why. "You know," he says, "sometimes I ask my father why wasn't he there, you know, when I was born? You know, he never did anything for me. Like my mom had to [do] everything by herself." Through his father's absence, Emory learned the importance of a father to his son. Now he expects to do for his son what his own father failed to do for him. Similarly, he expects to continue caring for his mother as he did before his sentence.

When I met Emory, he was unemployed and having difficulty finding another job. His girlfriend was now the sole financial support for the family. Moreover, she had told

him, "[I] don't need a man who can't take [me] nowheres." Although they have been together twelve years, Emory is "scared" that she will leave him.

A vocabulary of sentiment permeates Emory's narrative as he traces what he calls a normal past against which to talk about his current troubles. He talks of being "confused," "embarrassed," "cut off from everything," and "scared," and describes the experience of living on Community Control as "the most boringest, baddest thing in my life, and I'm 32 years old." The subtext of his narrative is one of separation from the community that includes his family. Sighing, he articulates his greatest fear: "You know, this family, this family, it seems like, seems like we get further and further apart. We get further apart now. [Elaborates] So, it—Community Control—I'm telling you, it just ain't goin' to work."

Controllee David's account, on the other hand, provides a contrasting frame of expectations that utilizes a systematic vocabulary more compatible than Emory's with that of the official version. It is typical of those controllees whose narratives focused on adjusting to the drastic changes in their lives rather than on resultant disorders of Community Control.

David is in his early 30s, married, and living with his wife and her two children. His biological children live with their mother in another county. David has been on Community Control for seven months of an eighteen month sentence. He was unemployed at the time of our first interview. Forced to resign from his work as a skilled medical worker in a federally operated facility, David applied for retraining in computer technology at a local college. Meanwhile, as he waits for approval from the

college, his wife works additional hours so the children can continue in private school.

David organized his narrative as a chronology beginning with "the incident" that resulted in his conviction and sentencing to Community Control. His account of life on Community Control focuses on adjustment and coping which he claims is on-going and only possible by "taking one day at a time." He stresses the changes that the family has made thus far, then summarizes the main points of the interview as follows:

> My loss of freedom. How the family has had to make adjustments. How I've had to make adjustments. Loss of career. Finding it difficult to restart my life, or have someone give me the opportunity job-wise to restart. There's a lot of changes that have had to be made.

The advice David has to offer to new controllees reads like a page of the official text:

> Know what your restrictions are. Follow it to the letter. Don't deviate for one second, cause the moment you deviate once, you'll deviate twice. Then, you'll feel like you're getting away with something, and you're going to get caught. And these probation officers, they're not stupid. They know the habits of their probbies. They know who can be trusted and who can't be trusted. And if you violate willingly or unwillingly, sooner or later you'll gt caught and then have to pay the penalty. Then you don't have a choice. You'll have all your freedom taken away.

Shifting from a vocabulary of system to words linking freedom to domestic life, David concludes:

> 'Cause I have more freedom now than I would if I were in prison. If I were in prison, I couldn't see my wife on a daily basis, my kids. Um, so you've just got to have patience and do what you have to do.

Typically, the social problematic is described as "hard" in controllees' accounts of daily life, and it is narratively marked by the changes in their roles as family members. Like David, who is no longer an economic provider and work-mate, and Emory who can

no longer do things he feels are important for his family, the rules that have guided the role relationships still shape the values placed on home and family. It is the official organization of the roles that has changed. Viewed in relation to the official version, family life no longer includes the activities that constitute the local version of normalcy. The new definition of family-as-household takes precedence and recontextualizes family roles within the boundaries of conventional stereotypes of domestic labor and outside employment. When speaking of everyday troubles, therefore, controllees verbalize their struggles to maintain a sense of normalcy by constructing their circumstances in relation to a world in dis-order.

Regardless of their expectations or the image of the world portrayed in the narratives, there is a general recognition that, if they are to complete their sentence without violation, they will have to "follow the rules and get it over with." "They are strict about what they tell you," one woman told me. "They do not play. I mean, if they tell you one thing, that's what you have to go by." "Do it, and do it right," a man said.

Constructing Changed Lives

Given the choice of jail or prison time, or the usually longer sentence to Community Control, why would offenders choose Community Control? Sometimes during the interviews I asked this question directly. At other times, controllees addressed it on their own. Some included the reasons why they would or would not make the same decision again. Instead of organizing the decision-making process around the pros and cons of the criminal justice rule-system or the mandated rules of Community Control in terms of space or time, their rationale is eminently social, rooted, like Emory's, in the

circumstances of their immediate world of family relations—their children, a spouse or significant other, a parent who needs their help, a job that supports their family. But would they make the same choice again? That, too, is linked to an ordering of family that contrasts past and present circumstances. Consider these examples from the interviews.

Controllee Nathan is a man in his late twenties. He had no criminal history prior to his arrest on a domestic violence charge. He describes the legal process that led to his sentence:

> They gave me a plea, like plea down to this here and they drop one of the charges. And, you know, my defender said I could beat this case, but I didn't want to take the chance to be away from my kids. Because not knowin' how my kids were surviving. I really, I really went off the wall there. So, you know, I took this here. She kept tellin' me, she said, "Boy, you can beat this thing." Forget it.

Nathan was sentenced to a year on Community Control followed by three years on probation. Although he is married, he is currently separated from his wife and lives with his mother and two brothers. His children live with their mother and visit him weekends twice a month. "Would things be different if you served jail time or prison time for this?" I asked him.

> As far as this—the main reason—if I didn't have kids, I wouldn't do this. I wouldn't a took this. I would a went to jail and had it over with. But the main reason I didn't choose jail is—see my wife's goin' to college and I didn't want her to have to drop out of college. [Elaborates] With me taking this, which is more aggravation on me, but with me takin' this, I can still take care of my kids and still see my kids. But, um, if I didn't have kids, I'd a said, "Put me in jail."

What has changed for Nathan since making that decision is not the needs of his family or the kind of work he does to support them, but the ordering of their domestic

life. "The thing that bothers me," he says, "is when my kids call and want me to come and get them and stuff. I can't do stuff like trottin' over to get 'em." Controllee Avery, whose children were in foster care, argued similarly. Having told the story of his disabilities, his ex-wife's drug addiction, his lack of transportation to parenting classes and Community Control reporting, and his futile attempts to find housing that would facilitate the return of the children to his custody, I asked him:

> Ansay: If you were writing a book about all this, what would its chapters be?
>
> Avery: Ah, I don't know. It be about, it'd probably be about Community Control and the things you can and you can't do on it, and how—and then the next thing would be how it affects your life. How it does your families and kids. That's a lot man, just in the way they do to you. Way they treat you on Community Control. I mean, I know it's—I know you can't look for Community Control to be well like you just, that they let you roam the streets or anything like that— [elaborates] I mean, if Florida puts you out here where you can provide and take care of your family and be home with your family—they don't even—like this—even to be on that, they give you so many restrictions that you can't do nothing, you know. In my mind, [worse than jail]. Hell, I might as well just stayed in jail because you done let me be home and then don't let me be home and not able to take care of my family.

Among those who describe the experience of Community Control as "worse than prison," their troubles emerge from concerns for children, unfair or uncaring officers, difficulties with payments, violations, or scheduling convey a sense of personal and family disorder. Many times, money is an immediate concern. To illustrate the dilemma some controllees face, one man, disabled by multiple health problems, asked me: "How can I get a job and pay back this money that I'm expected to pay? Am I going to be put back in jail if I don't pay? Yet not be allowed to do what it takes to get the money?" In a story that seemed to be all about money, however,—the money that got him into trouble

and the money he doesn't have to get him out—it was his sense of dependency on his girlfriend and her family that has changed the ordering of his life. It is not "the way it should be."

> You know, a single person—I would recommend to do the time and get it over with. I can—they offered me two years time or three years on Community Control, but I could have been off and had this over with by now. I could have probably been out in a year.

During the two and a half years he had already served on Community Control, he lived with his girlfriend in her trailer in the country, removed by about fifteen miles from the nearest town. He described his daily life with no car, no home of his own, and his total dependence on his girlfriend and her parents.

> Everything. Everything I do I have to depend on others for. It wouldn't be quite as bad if I wasn't disabled because I'd have a job and I'd have an income and I could buy my own stuff and I could rent an apartment of my own and I could be independent in those ways. But as it is, in my circumstances, I'm dependent completely on others.

The theme of dependency plays out differently under other circumstances. In Controllee Lynette's case, for instance, there are children to be concerned about, however they are in her mother's legal custody and she is allowed only supervised visitation rights. At the time of the interview, she had been on Community Control for almost eighteen months and qualified her account of daily life by saying, "It makes you feel like a child again." Lynette wears an electronic monitoring device that was ordered following a violation nine months ago. While she claims to have visited her children daily prior to the electronic monitoring, those visits have been curtailed by a new supervisor and must now be scheduled events. "Is it better than prison?" I asked her.

> You do get to see your family. If I was in prison, I wouldn't get to see my children because ain't no telling what prison you'd be in. And my mom can't bring' em. 'Cause their dad's in [names a prison about 40 miles away] and my mom can't take them but maybe once a month to see their dad. There's no way I can live like that. I mean, when you're on this, you're allowed to go out and find you a job. You get to work. I mean, you do, actually, you do have freedom even though you have your limited time for shopping and stuff. Still you get to go outside any time you want. Prison you can't. I mean, I'm glad I'm on this.

For Janelle, a twenty-year-old single mother with a toddler, Community Control is described as "a gift." Janelle was pregnant at the time she committed her crime, and she spent time in jail awaiting trial. During that time, she worried that her baby would be born in prison, be placed in her sister's custody, and would not recognize her as his mother. She views having a baby as an advantage for her on Community Control because she has to stay home with him when she's not working at her job. Janelle's friend and housemate arrived during the interview and joined us, and together they construct a picture of what the gift really is.

Friend: I think it has helped you be more responsible.

Janelle: Ya. Between my son and Community Control it's made me grow up pretty fast. Really fast. I mean, as far as he, you know—because if I hadn't had him, I believe I would have violated necessarily—

Friend: [Interrupts] Oh, yeh, you would have—

Janelle: [Interrupts] Ya. I would have. 'Cause it would be easier to just get up and go and say, "Oh, he's [the officer's] not going to come today, or, you know—

Friend: [Interrupts] 'Cause you have more of an opportunity to get in trouble.

Janelle: Right. Ya. Of course.

Friend: That's the thing we say. It keeps you home with your son.

Janelle: I told her, if I just went to prison, I probably could handle it. But with him—I mean, I would just die. I would.

What becomes evident from these accounts, is that, whether controllees portray regular incarceration (jail or prison) as better or worse than Community Control, their perspective is linked to the a subtext through which the conditions of domestic order or disorder relate to a discourse of home and family. Typically, that idealized home is narratively constructed within a web of relational ties. It is a peaceful place, a place of normalcy, a place that is different from, or at least changed in some way under, the current circumstances of Community Control.

Shaping Connectedness

"If your Mom was talking to me about Community Control, what do you think she'd be telling me?" I asked Controllee Nathan during our first interview. Nathan was separated from his wife and children at the time and living with his mother.

Nathan: Ah, I don't know. I ain't never thought about that. Ah, I don't really talk to anybody a whole bunch about how anybody thinks. I'm pretty much to myself.

I rephrased the question then and asked again:

Ansay: Do you think she thinks about it?

Nathan: She probably does. 'Cause you know—like a friend of mine that got killed this week—I'd like to go see him. The whole family. I've know them all my life, and you know, that's really aggravatin' this week that I can't go by there and to see them and see how they're doing.

Ansay: Have you approached your officer on it?

Nathan: Ah, she told me I'd be allowed to go to the funeral, but you know, you kind of feel like you should be there for your friends when

> they're goin' through something like this. And you can't be there. My Mom asked me the other night if I wanted to go see them, she would call my officer. She was ready to call about it then. [He laughs.]

Nathan's fifteen-year-old brother, on the other hand, would probably tell me "he's pretty pissed off about the whole thing," according to Nathan. The "whole thing," in this case, includes being "really aggravated with my wife" because "he blames her more than anything," especially since she first reported the incident that precipitated house arrest.

There is a special vocabulary that shapes the meaning of family for controllees and it is evident in the narrative linkages they make as they talk about mundane matters in their everyday worlds. People are "there for" each other. Mothers are willing to call the officer—again, to "be there" as needed, even when the linkage between filial love and criminal justice objectivity appears almost comical. Nathan's categorizes all these as "the way everybody sees it"—a link to family as valued. Yet, in each case, the language of sentiment and connection shapes the story that is told and reminds us of the problematic of their everyday life.

Although the circumstances differ, Controllee Petra, too, talks of loving her three children. On Community Control, she is able to keep them together, while they, in turn "make her day" and "keep her from messin' up." For many years, Petra's life was in turbulence. As a drug addict, she was "hangin' out on the streets" and "putting those children through so much." The children were removed to her mother's legal custody. Meanwhile, Petra was convicted on drug charges and sentenced to Community Control. "I wouldn't stay home when I was on it at first," she says. "Until [her officer] got real

serious with that and took me to court. And when we were in court, I knew then not to be messin' around." Petra claims that up until her time in jail she "wasn't ready to give up the high." However, once in jail, she was able to turn her life around.

> I asked the Lord if I ever go to jail, would he lift the drugs away from me. And when he gave me the will call in the spirit, I got a new spirit and do not touch the drugs.

The image of order in her life signals a shift in Petra's life. In contrast to the earlier image of children separated from their mother and a mother separated from her home, the image of family portrayed in her narrative is one in which there are no drugs, a good officer guiding her, friends helping her, and children without an "attitude." She put it this way:

> Petra: I love my family. We've stayed together. They've made my day by me being on house arrest. [Elaborates] They keep me happy. They have me laughing. My sister and her friends, my older daughter and her friends, they come around and they make little jokes and we look at TV. That makes our day. [Describes a favorite TV show] So, it's no problem. It beats being in jail. I love to be home, instead of being in jail and all.
>
> Ansay: Because?
>
> Petra: I couldn't touch my children. [Describes how her youngest, a deaf child, will kiss her and hug her now] And they cannot do that when I'm in jail. I couldn't touch them.
>
> Ansay: How did you visit?
>
> Petra: They brought my baby and it's like [elaborates further] Actually, they were screaming and hollering for me.

Petra sees her life as normal now because "we don't have no attitude. . . .I put them through hell one time using drugs. I maintain a little bit more with 'em, and they

like being around their mama now." Petra has a strategy for continuing the present shape of her world: "I maintain my life like it is," she says.

Controllee Janelle's story is similar to Petra's as an example of controllees' attempts to reestablish family ties ruptured by the conditions of a lifestyle that preceded sentencing to Community Control. Early in the interview, I asked Janelle to describe her family. I expected her to begin, like most others, with a listing of who that family includes. Instead she began with the words, "Very disappointed." Her pregnancy and her crime had disappointed her parents, she said, and, although they had always been "very close," her father hadn't talked to her for two years. Her mother, sisters, and grandmother were "very disappointed" and "just want me to do right."

Janelle constructs this segment of her life story as a narrative of disconnection and links her status as a criminal offender to that past closeness. Later, however, as she talks about her life with her son, the narrative shifts to focus on the present relationship. She puts it this way:

> I have my son now and, um, my family is real close. We have, um some immediate family. [Elaborates] My oldest sister is married and he's in the navy, so we don't see them much, but every Thanksgiving and Christmas we get together. [Shifts back to the past] I mean, like my parents and I used to be real, real close.

Recall how the family Petra described formed in each other's physical presence, and its expressions of member connectedness were uniquely individual. The image of family that emerges from Janelle's account of Community Control establishes a broader connection to a larger entity. The special language of closeness and emotional separation, of getting together for holidays and "just wanting children to do right" signals orientation

to a rule system, an unwritten code of connection, beyond the boundaries of any particular time and place. The problematic of house arrest encompasses emotional relationships beyond the confines of the household. Connection, and conversely disconnection, in cases like Janelle's, is not only to the individual members but to the larger abstract entity of family as well.

While control officers understand the meaning of family within the immediate boundaries of connectedness, the linkage to the more abstract understanding of what it means to *be* family is not taken into account in making allowances for controllees in most instances. Thus, hardship in the everyday lives of families is narratively associated with how controllees' perceive access to that broader understanding of what is family.

Holidays and other special events marked a typical hardship refrain. Some of my initial interviews were done during the month before and after Christmas, and the experience of a Christmas on Community Control had been problematic, at least to some extent, for all controllees. In the excerpt below, Controllee Iris and her aunt describe the hardship of the Christmas rituals as a challenge to the traditional ordering of their family.

"You know," Iris told me, "when it comes to your kids, they should let you do things with them to keep them occupied and keep the kids out of trouble. I mean, that's a family thing." For Iris, who depends on relatives for transportation, child care, and economic support, most of her daily life experience is "a family thing." She describes her family as "very close." Their particular version of closeness is demonstrated during the interviews first as grandmother, then an aunt, join us at the kitchen table. Iris lives with her grandmother; her aunt lives just down the block. Mother, whom I was to interview

later, lives in a trailer about 100 feet behind the house. Typical of many of the rural families I met, relatives live nearby and freely enter each other's homes and join the conversations. In the excerpt that follows, Iris and her aunt collaborate to produce the kind of family that is "very close."

> Iris: [Picking up a theme from earlier in the interview] Matter of fact, Christmas they gave me four hours to go eat dinner with the family. They thought—they gave me six hours the day before to go Christmas shopping!
>
> Aunt: [Indicates that it doesn't make sense.]
>
> Iris: Yup. [She laughs.]
>
> Aunt: I mean, when our family gets together—well this time it was gettin' together at our brother's house. Well, he don't live just across the railroad tracks. But when our family gets together, they stay together all day long. [Elaborates on the day] Everybody's got to eat supper together.
>
> Iris: Right.
>
> Aunt: You can't take—I mean, four hours there—I mean, if the stuffing's [not] done and they say you can go from nine to twelve—Well, our bunch usually don't get to eat till around one or two.

Janelle places similar importance on the connectedness of family in relation to special events. "It's hard," she says, "because I'm only twenty-one and two Christmases and two New Years and two birthdays. . ." She talks about how "depressing" it was last Christmas when her father was not talking to her. She and the baby had spent the day alone. But this year was different:

> Janelle: This Christmas. It was so good. I mean I got to talk to my father, to go to Grandma's house and she cooked like you would not believe. And at midnight, we, all my cousins—I still couldn't do that.

Ansay: At Thanksgiving?

Janelle: And Thanksgiving. Ya. We all get together. So it's hard. Because like I said, he allowed us three hours on Christmas. I don't know how your family is, but my family is not, okay, come over and eat, open gifts and go home. That's not how it is. It's like an all day affair.

We see how important is that linkage to other members in the rituals that mark events as special within the world of families. In these rituals, the boundaries of family and the social extend beyond the household, and linger in the ambience of member connectedness. As controllees, on the other hand, members are restricted to the physical boundaries of home where sentiment is officially sterilized, and they are reminded frequently as they make requests for allowances: "If you can't do it in prison, don't ask to do it here." Overt negotiation is limited by definition of Community Control as punishment. "So why put yourself in a situation to be let down," one man asked rhetorically. Then he continued, portraying a perfect model of the rational decision-making world:

> I know what my restrictions are. I know what my probation [sic] officer will approve or not approve. So I take it one day at a time. I report in once a week. I fill out my weekly schedule. And I live by that. It's more or less my alternate Bible. It's the things I can and can't do.

Similarly, a woman said:

> You have to get used to it, get used to it. 'Cause I couldn't just go to the store like I usually do. I had to set a time and go at a specific time. Then, other than that, you got used to it.

Framed in this way, the narrative accounting of daily life can be viewed as a managed activity in which members construct strategies for intermeshing family-work

and compliance-work within the boundaries of their controlled circumstances. We need then to look more carefully at how these boundaries are constructed.

Negotiating Boundaries

In one sense, the boundaries that encase controllees are physical boundaries set by their officers. Ordinarily these are visible as the front yard, perhaps the back yard as well, or the whole of a rural acre lot, the size of the "home as a prison cell" left to each officer's discretion. Activities deemed to be basic rights, such as grocery shopping, church services, and even laundry, along with programs such as substance abuse counseling or anger management, extend temporary boundaries into the community. Sometimes, as noted above, the physical boundaries are arbitrarily extended to include Christmas dinner with relatives, a wedding or funeral, visits to aging or disabled parents, trips to the flea market or the circus with a child, school conferences, or, in one case, attendance at a Cub Scout banquet. In other words, boundaries stretch and recede in relation to the shifting overlap of the two worlds of meaning.

Viewed from an official perspective, therefore, the boundaries of home are physical limits that officers affirm or deny. However, boundaries can be viewed another way as theoretical constructs that are used by controllees in negotiating and manipulating their circumstances. In this sense, boundaries are malleable according to the purposes of those who use them. Two excerpts from an interview with Controllee David illustrate what I mean by boundary malleability:

> When I was put on Community Control slash house arrest on [specifies date], I went from a working environment with other people—patients at the hospital where there is constant communication—into an environment

> where I couldn't leave the house unless notifying my probation officer or getting it written down on the weekly schedule. I can no longer eat out in town, go to a restaurant, can't go to Burger King like you were earlier. Um, and I haven't been to a restaurant since June. Um, there's lot of changes that I've had to make. The personal freedom that I once enjoyed is now gone. I used to equate it to life in the service, but I had freedom in the service. I just didn't see it at the time. Even though I couldn't go where I wanted when I wanted, it was a lot different than being on Community Control. Because now I know, if I were to violate with this situation, I will spend 30 years in prison.

In a sense, David constructs his changed boundaries as a different kind of freedom. And, speaking of the long, lonely days while his wife is at work and his children are in school, David continues to reconstruct boundaries as a different form of loneliness as well:

> The days are long. Um, I thought the days when I was on the ship when I was in the Marine Corps were long because you're out there in the middle of the ocean. You don't see land. There's only guys around you and none of them really like talking too much. But the loneliness here is just totally different. I can't leave my property to go talk to my neighbor. He's out there right now doing work on his house. I can't even walk over and talk to him because I'd be in violation.

In both accounts, David links the physical boundaries to violation, while at the same time constructing them as around different forms—forms of loneliness and of freedom.

An understanding of boundaries as malleable allows a rethinking of physical boundaries associated with the family version of compliance-work when home is a prison cell. That said, we can look further to two types of malleable boundaries, along with complimentary strategies of boundary negotiation, that emerged from the narratives of controllees whom I interviewed. These I examine now as "boundaries of trust" and

"boundaries of risk." Used by controllees to artificially, or conceptually, extend the physical boundaries of control, I show how they constitute rhetorical strategies of constructing family coherence as well.

Boundaries of Trust

The good officer/ bad officer dichotomy constructed in chapter four takes a different form when considered as a relationship of trust. For one thing, those controllees who experienced an officer as "just a jerk," someone "who doesn't give a shit about us," or "someone who just wants to punish," typically also talk about an impersonal system that is "unfair," "arbitrary," "a set up" or even, "a conspiracy." Given that the stereotypes and associations they make are generally negative, it is not surprising to hear them speak of their physical boundaries as closely monitored and regulated beyond their normal confines of home, work, and routine tasks.

However, most controllees notice a change in the pattern of monitoring over time on Community Control. As Controllee Emory described the way "house arrest is goin' to get me out of trouble," he noted a corresponding change in the monitoring as well.

> When I first got on it, I really couldn't do nothin' 'cause he [the officer] was comin' back like two and three times a day. But now, it seems like he's givin' me a little slack. You know, now— when I first got on it, he was checkin' all the job lists. Every time I'd go job huntin' he'd check behind me and do everything. Now, since I been on ten months, I noticed he done sort of slack up off me now.

Those controllees who used the good officer model were more likely also to talk about the specific allowances that officers made, particularly for special family events. Katie, for example, has blanket permission to work additional hours, to stop by the

convenience store on her way home from work, or to walk over to the store down the block if something is needed for the children. Although she still needs permission to do the major shopping at the supermarket, and it is still "aggravating" having to "know where you have to be at any minute," changes in her work schedule are not a problem. "No," she says:

> . . .'cause he says if I'm at work, like if I have to work late, that I'm either supposed to be at work or here, unless it's on my schedule otherwise. [Elaborates] Like on weekends. I used to have weekends off and then sometimes they would ask me to come in, so it's like if I wrote off, as long as I'm at work, if I'm not here, then he won't violate it. But I can't be nowhere else.

Katie will go other places as needed for her large family, and her officer allows her enough discretionary space to manage the children. Thus, when her thirteen year old did not arrive home from school as expected, she drove to the home of his friend to get him. "As long as you have some kind documentation saying that's where you are. If it's not on your schedule, that's what you do." Although the negotiation of expanded family space is not an overt process, there is ample evidence from her narrative that such negotiation takes place within a context of what is commonly known as trust.

The matter of trust is more directly approached in Ralph's account of a life riddled with economic problems and poor health. Like Katie, he focuses on the necessity of documenting any unexpected changes from the approved schedule. To him, procuring documentation is not only a means of avoiding violation, it is also a strategy for building trust. Because of his own serious health problems and his girlfriend's asthma, the couple has frequent emergency trips to the hospital. Ralph narrates his version of trust by

linking it to a hypothetical circumstance of a medical emergency after which he would no longer be trusted.

> I tell them. I make sure they know 'cause I don't want someone sayin' next week that I saw Mr. Ralph out. He was out in the morning— and this is two weeks later and [my officer] says: "What? You saw Mr. Ralph out at three o'clock in the morning? What was he doing at three o'clock in the morning?" Now, I broke—he no longer trusts me because he, he, I haven't told. I didn't tell him until he gets word that I actually was at the hospital. [Elaborates] That way, I keep a good rapport with him. He appreciates it, and they have a tendency to work with me and give me a little more trust. A little more respect.

Ralph constructs trust, and its complimentary respect, as commodities which he is given in exchange for providing the necessary documentation of any emergencies. Then he goes on:

> There is no doubt in my mind that everything they do is going to be within their guidelines, but the more respect you get and the more trust you get out of them, the more lenient they probably are goin' to be with you allowing you within those guidelines. Allowing you to do the things that are allowed within those guidelines.

By this account, the boundaries of trust are not only elastic, they are organizationally embedded in the formal guidelines of Community Control and can be used with official approval for purposes of the "familying" activities. As I show in the following section, that is not the case when we examine another form of boundary malleability—"boundaries of risk."

Boundaries of Risk

Arguably, risk is a condition of Community Control itself, a condition that constitutes both the success and the failure of controllees as they live the problematic of controlled lives. In the official version, however, there is no need to risk violation by

being "out of place" as Departmental policy offers three legitimate routes to take in cases of emergency. Preferably, controllees are to call their officer or, if it is after regular office hours, to call a central emergency number for permission to leave. If that is not possible under the circumstances, most officers allow controllees to handle the emergency as they see fit, then provide documentation to the officer as soon as possible.

While the boundaries of trust form through acceptance of criminal justice authority and conformity to its rule system, it is not the only strategy through which controllees manage to extend the physical parameters of their confinement. Despite official rules, circumstances, and warnings of potential consequences, there is always the choice of leaving without permission—that is, of risking violation by moving outside the official boundary structure. For some controllees, especially those facing long prison sentences, the stakes are too high for them to "deviate from the rules" in this way. As David put it: "Thirty years is a long way to go for a Burger King." How, then, do controllees rationalize their decision to risk or not to risk? In the following section, I examine the way in which boundaries of risk are constructed first for those unwilling to risk violation, then for those who choose to risk.

For those unwilling to risk violation by leaving the premises or "being out of place," the rationalization context most often includes contrasting narratives of prison and family life. The somewhat lengthy account of the process of rationalization that follows demonstrates that linkage and identifies its roots in a world of tough decisions. It establishes a moral identity that guides this controllee's home life.

Ralph: I've been in Vietnam. I've been in, in tight-rope situations, but I've been a free man and I can make choices. And I could do what I had to do. [Now] I can't even walk across the street to that pasture over there. My cell ends at the edge of my yard. There are bars there. They're invisible bars, but they're there. If I go out of this yard, I violated my probation. I could take a risk and do it, and chances are I'd never get caught. But I'm not. I'm not going to take that risk. Too much rides, too much important rides on my not doing something wrong. So, it's up to me to make sure that I don't do that.

Ansay: Do you think it's tougher than if it were up to somebody else, if you had somebody standing at that gate all the time?

Ralph: Sure. Sure. There's always temptation. When the gate's locked, there's no temptation. My girlfriend calls me up. She has a flat tire on her way to work. "Ralph," you know, "come. I need help." "Sorry, Honey. You know what my probation [sic] officer said when I called: 'If you was in jail, could you go fix that flat tire?'"

Ansay: So what did you do?

Ralph: I wasn't going to fix her flat tire. She has to flag somebody down or— it's the same as me being in jail. I am in jail. It's just that I'm in a better environment.

Ralph links his competence in making hard choices to his experiences in Vietnam. With the same deliberation, he constructs a situation parallel to being the soldier with the duty to follow orders or suffer the consequences. However, the dilemma in this case is evident—in order to remain in his home with family, he privileges criminal justice rules over the unofficial role responsibilities of family members to each other. Similarly for other members who rationalize the consequences of violation and choose not to violate, the problematic of competing worlds of meaning is articulated as adjusting family order to the rules of criminal justice—*for the sake of family*.

This same problematic appears to agitate the decision-making process of those

controllees who reported they had indeed taken a chance by being somewhere that was unapproved. Whether organizing as the justification that "everybody does it," "something you have to do once in a while," or as "a dumb thing I did once or twice because my boyfriend was pressuring me," the tension of actively working to reconcile the world of criminal justice rules with the socially constructed local rules of "what-we-do-as-a-family," is evident in the stories these controllees tell about an event of risk. Their narratives demonstrate how the event of risk-taking is not separate from the particular "rule-order" that organizes the social roles of controllees and family members more generally. In other words, the decision to choose to risk is communicated against a version of family (or community) order that, in some sense, seems to members to require it. Several examples can demonstrate this important point.

Recall Controllee Emory's life story and the way in which he organized it around concern for his disabled mother who raised him, a young son who wants a father to play with him, and a girlfriend—the mother of his child and companion of twelve years—who is tired of living with a man who has to "be sneakin'" to take her to McDonald's for a hamburger. "But you do risk it sometimes?" I ask Emory.

> Yes. Oh, definitely. Oh, listen, ain't nobody on Community Control goin' tell me that they're not goin' to take a chance. 'Cause you, you gonna take a chance. You gonna *have* to take a chance. You gonna try. You gonna try it. You know, a lot of guys say they wouldn't try it, but you gotta be in the situation to see how it is.

For Emory, "everything is cut out" of his life in the situation he constructs. And later, when he talks about "good times," he links its meaning to Christmas, a ritual marker of the importance of family in his life.

> Home and work. Home and work. No pleasure. No good times. Like I know this Christmas here, I probably won't be able to see my family this Christmas. 'Cause I don't know if [my officer] will come out or not. And I'm not goin' to ask him because I have asked him a hundred times if I could see my mom and he said, "Nope." And I—the last time I asked him could I see my mother and he said "No." And my mother is disabled! Then that really makes me mad. [Elaborates] I think that's the wrong idea 'cause I could be doing good with my family, checking in, and then all of a sudden, he's [the officer's] checkin'. There's a knock on the door. "What's goin' on?" "Oh, Mr. Emory, You violated." [Pause] You understand what I'm saying?

And later he adds:

> See, it's like—a young black male like me loves freedom. [Elaborates] All of my, all of my black male [friends] just don't— we just don't believe in nobody tellin' them when to go see they mom and when to take their girls to the movie and stuff.

Although Emory says his officer is a "a pretty good officer," he constructs the situation as a moral identity in which he—as male, as black, as son and significant other—needs to risk violation to continue the domestic order that supports both family and freedom. Does he weigh the consequences of visiting his mother, picking up her prescription at the pharmacy, taking his son to McDonald's playground, or his girlfriend out for a fast-food treat? Again, as quoted earlier in this chapter, his expectations emerge from local knowledge of differences between men and women, and of the way the criminal justice system works.

> See," he says, "if I violate this here? I got to serve the time for the probation that I haven't even started. Concurrently. They run concurrently.

He elaborates on how women are less likely to violate because "ladies are scared of" going to jail, then shifts when I ask: "Are you saying you're not?"

> No, I'm not. I only been once in my life, when I went . . . I got used to it. But I don't want to get a number. A prison number. That stays with you. Any time, like if I violate now, they might give me one more chance by saying, "Well, Mr. Emory, we'll just put the ankle bracelet on house arrest this time 'cause you never been to prison." But if I have a number, right? And I violate? That's automatically a number and . . . they know it. See, they're a lot harder on you when you have a number and when you don't. Simple as that. That's how it works.

Despite rationalities used and risks taken, Emory describes himself as "changed." "Right now," he says, "I feel comfortable. I feel comfortable with house arrest because I'm not in trouble. I can't run the streets and get into trouble. That's how I am now." Using the boundaries of risk embedded in his familial roles, Emory says he is comfortable to have found a way to reconcile being a man, a son, a father, and partner under the circumstances.

Another case that illustrates the embeddedness of risk boundaries in the world of the familial emerges quite differently from Emory's account. This is Controllee Nathan who, as noted earlier, chose Community Control over jail time in order to provide financial support for his estranged wife and be available to his kids. Nathan has said he'd like put his marriage back together, but, because of the dual conditions of a restraining order against him and the restrictions of Community Control, he thinks the rift between his wife and him has already gone too far for reunification. Yet, as the following excerpt shows, he continues to see her and has built risk-time into his daily routines.

> Ansay: Do you get to spend time with your wife also, I mean with the restraining order and all?
>
> Nathan: Ah, no. Not legally. I mean—[He indicates the tape recorder, laughs, then continues] Legally no, but we do. We do spend time together. She'll come and spend the night and stuff. And a lot of

> time, I go over there at lunch time. I'm supposed to go to [names a local restaurant] for lunch. That's what I tell them. But most of the time I go over there and see her. [Elaborates]

Ansay: Does it worry you?

Nathan: Nah. I ain't goin't to worry about it. [Laughs] I'm kind of a hard-head, I reckon.

We continue to talk about the weekend visitation time that he spends with his children, and about his younger brother who frequently "hangs around" to keep him company. He laughingly tells me about the advice he gives his brother: "Keep your nose clean. Keep out of trouble." Linking to the word trouble, I shift the interview back to talk about risk.

"Besides what you told me before about your wife, are there any other circumstances where you would go somewhere without approval?"

> If my wife broke down, I would. I've gone to help her several times. If she's broke down, I don't care what they say, I'm goin' to, you know, to help her out. I mean—there's times her and me don't get along together. We've been married ten years and probably fought nine, so [laughs] if she needs my help, you know, I don't care what they say, I'll—and if something happens to one of my kids—I'm gone in a heartbeat. They haven't told me anything as far as that goes. They told me if I go to the hospital or anything, just bring in something saying I went to the hospital, you know. But if one of my kids falls in the house and gets cut, you know, even if he ain't goin' to the hospital, I'm still going to check on him [at his wife's house]. Then I'll go out an' deal with it. If they want to put me in jail, they'll have to put me in jail. You know? To me, my kids come before anything. My kids come before me or anybody else. So, I don't know if it's right, but it's how I am."

In Nathan's case, as in Emory's, the circumstances in which their familial role is challenged, rather than the consequences of violation, constitute the threat to the larger order of family, and the role meanings thus called upon become the rhetorical resources

for justifying their decision to risk violation. For them, the decision to risk is a moral one, a statement of identity. Nathan says it forthrightly, "It's who I am."

All in all, domestic ordering in the lives of controllees as family members is far more complex than the written rules of Community Control and official practices of control officers envision. While controllees talk about their troubles in relation to the mundane activities of families, daily life, good officers, bad officers—a life that is better or worse than expected—they construct and image of family consistent with identity roles they idealize as normal.

In contrast to the official construction of families as unidimensional support systems operating behind the scenes, and controllees as independent actors whose compliance is simply a matter of obeying the rules or violating them, I have documented an organization of everyday experience that rationalizes risk behaviors as strategies of maintaining family coherence. While official voices remind controllees that "if you can't do it in prison, don't ask to do it here," the competing rationality of family answers: "Because we are not in prison, we *must* do it here." Thus, the problematic of reconciling domestic order and criminal justice control is an on-going task and a complex moral obligation in which controllees work to produce a consistent image of family for the practical purposes of living their circumstances.

CHAPTER 6
INTERPERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND THE HOUSEHOLD CONTEXT OF STRESS

During the preliminary stages of my research, I spoke with many officers and supervisors to get a sense of the families of Community Control clientele from their point of view. I asked particularly about those who "make it" on Control, and sensed frustration in the responses I received. One supervisor sighed on hearing my question, then answered: "Success or failure is not something people want to measure. It's ridiculous. If they stay out of prison, it's success, but there's no way of knowing more than that."

The documentation provided by officers in a dozen "closed out" case files that I reviewed shows at least tacit acknowledgment of families as a part of controllees' success on Community Control. Generally this summary report includes space for officers to comment on the case. Typically, these comments on family are limited to "supportive," "uninvolved," or "uncooperative," with no accompanying narrative. This offers little information about their understanding of these conditions, much less what it means to family members themselves whose lives are embedded in the competition between a formal rule system of home confinement and intensive supervision, and the on-going "family rules" of domestic life.

In this chapter I focus first on how family members organize the experience of Community Control as a condition of their daily life. Next I define "familial responsibility" and examine how family members construct their version of what it means to be supportive within that framework. Finally, I look more closely at the domestic ordering of stress within these interpersonal relationships that I categorize as "supporting."

Organizing a Stressful World

Speaking to family members and listening to their version of life on Community Control provides a lens into the domestic world in which family support is behaviorally and culturally constructed in relation to the problematic of house arrest. In daily practice, family members continually, actively, and purposively construct versions of support that fit the present circumstances of their lives, using whatever interpretive resources they have at hand. In a process similar to that in which controllees construct the circumstances of domestic order in their narratives, family members also portray the kind of sentiments, behaviors, and circumstances that constitute what they consider it means to "be family." Their views are not limited to the conventional, unidimensional version that takes family support as singularly identifiable acts of physical accomplishment performed for the controllee in a particular time and place, but rather multidimensional, interwoven networks of concern and caring as well.

Take, Controllee Iris's Aunt Belle, for example. Aunt Belle lives less than a block from the house Iris shares with her grandmother. She joined the interview with Iris about midway through and did not hesitate to present her views of life on Community

Control. She provides a vivid account of the complexities created by the imposition of criminal justice logic on a world of domestic order.

Prior to the interview segment excerpted below, Aunt Belle had been talking about her niece's situation as a young, single mother expecting a second child. Like many other controllees, Iris's driver's license was revoked because of her felony conviction. Moreover, because of her late-term pregnancy and certain medical risks particular to her condition, she is medically restricted from employment at this time. Thus Iris depends on her mother and her aunt for many of her own and her toddler daughter's needs. Since Iris's mother and aunt have households of their own, "being there" for Iris has not been easy. Aunt Belle explains:

> Don't misunderstand me. Our family is very close and we do for one another, and we do for one another's kids, but still there's basically some things she needs to do on her own. 'Cause lots of times we can't just quit what we're doing and drop everything [so she has to] wait until we're goin' to do that anyway. But, I mean, just like when she lived in the other trailer, there was maybe laundry. She had to wait for somebody to be able to go to do laundry. [Umhmm.] My husband drives truck. He ain't always there. But when he is there, he don't want me running to the laundromat at most six or seven o'clock. He wants me home, and you got to keep your own family intact too with you. And she ain't got anybody to depend on but family, so if your husband don't understand it, you ain't goin' to get to do it that day. 'Cause you ain't goin' to cause confusion in your own home, too.

Several of the families who participated in this research were simultaneously involved in other regulative agencies, relying on HUD for housing subsidies, WAGES (formerly known as AFDC) for financial aid, and foster care for their own or their partner's children. Pregnancy or medical emergencies that complicate family life under ordinary circumstances take on new dimensions under conditions of Community Control.

An extract from an interview with Controllee Avery's girlfriend, Verna, provides some sense of the drama. She portrays their circumstances as a paradox embedded within the various regulatory agencies rather among the domestic orderings that constitute Iris's family. Verna's account of what it's like for her, as the committed partner of a controllee, is set at a time when she and Avery were expecting their baby:

> We were having to worry about paying $250 for him [court and control costs], a light bill, make sure we have gas because it was overdue from [where he lived before.] So there were a lot of bills, so we had to worry about them, and then, of course, the kids, the oldest one was in school. But, you know—then at that time I was pregnant, and at the same time HRS Children and Families were telling me that—here I am seven or eight months pregnant—I've got to worry about trying to volunteer somewhere. So that was real fun. Like to volunteer, like in the last part of my pregnancy, and you're telling me to volunteer. [Elaborates] And that put a strain because you then had child care 'cause my two-year old's going to day care. But I mean, I still had to worry about being pregnant, going to your doctor's visits, and at the same time working about 20 hours of volunteer.

The overlapping themes of money, transportation, child care and illness appeared regularly in the families' interviews, yet they are not articulated in the rhetoric of punishment that officially informs Community Control. Little wonder that family members frequently voiced their belief that they, too, were being punished. As Emory's girlfriend said: "When he got sentenced to eighteen months, his mom got sentenced to eighteen months, his son got sentenced to eighteen months, and so did I." Echoing her words, Janelle's sister said: "I felt like I was being punished for the crimes [my sister] did."

Reporting Day

As explained earlier, controllees are required to meet with their officer at the control office once a week to self-report their progress in meeting court-imposed obligations, to pay cost of service and other fees, and to obtain their officer's approval of a schedule for the following week. Failure to report constitutes a violation, thus the event is a stressful time for most controllees. For those families without transportation, especially those in small towns and rural areas, reporting day poses a particular hardship. In most cases, it means juggling work schedules or, perhaps, asking a willing driver to take time off work to drive a distance of as much as 30-35 miles each way. Because rural access to good shopping is limited, controllees from these areas often prefer to schedule time for shopping into reporting day as well. All in all, even though the time for such "extras" is subject to the restrictions approved during the meeting with the control officer, the trip itself can take the better part of the day. "It's hard. It's real, real hard," Controllee Janelle said when I asked her to talk about reporting day. The story Janelle's sister told depicts the event as difficult for her as well.

> When she first got on Community Control she did live with us and I had to take her back and forth every week to [the reporting office.] It was a lot easier when there was somebody [a control office] here [in a nearby small town] because, I mean, to go all the way to [the reporting city] always, that was an all-day affair almost. Once I was working, I stopped doing that. She had to depend on her friend Eileen to do it since I started working.

We talk about other things, then she returns to construct the difficulties of reporting day as a family matter.

> Definitely the traveling thing didn't work, you know, the having to go to [the reporting city] because she didn't have a car. It was hard enough with

> me having to take time out of my day when it was here [in the nearby small town]. Plus, having to wait for her. Sometimes it would take only a few minutes. Sometimes it would take longer. Plus I had my children, my stepchildren. And sometimes other kids [for whom she babysat] and I'd have to load 'em all up, you know, to take her. And then, when she was there [at the more distant location], it made it just that much more difficult. I mean, I almost hate to say it, but I was glad to go to work when I had to have that responsibility. You know, and she looked at it like I was supposed to do it. She just expected it out of me. You know, every week I was expected to take her, and that got old after a while.

After Janelle moved away from her sister's home, she and her friend, Eileen, moved into an apartment together. Janelle describes their friendship as "very, very close." Eileen accepted the task of transporting Janelle to the reporting office. In their collaborative account of reporting day, Janelle and Eileen link the trials of reporting day to the meaning of "closeness" that defines their relationship.

> Janelle: With me, I have no license and no car. That makes it really hard. And if I didn't have Eileen here, there isn't any way I could go and report. And he [the officer] asks me almost every time, "How did you get here." He knows I can't drive. He told me if he caught me driving he'd violate me.
>
> Eileen: He's just waiting when you drive up there. And God forbid, one day I'm at work. I can't work on Mondays. I can't do anything on Mondays. I have to take her.
>
> Ansay: So you take off of work?
>
> Eileen: Say I have to be out of town to see my family. If I ever want to go Sunday, it's like several hours away—if I'd have car trouble—I can't do that because it's my responsibility to be here on Monday to take her for scheduling. And we've had a couple problems arise. We had a couple of flat tires. We had quite a few flat tires. We had car trouble Sunday. Sunday night. Two flat tires.
>
> Janelle: [Interrupts and talks about the flat tire episode.]
>
> Ansay: So what if you would call in and say—

Janelle: [Interrupts] They explained to me that I have got to be there no matter what. That I have to be there on reporting day or it'd be a violation.

Eileen: We had one Monday that we raced against the clock to get you there.

Janelle: Ya. 'Cause I had to work and I got off. [Elaborates] Ya. It was late. If they'd closed up a 5:30 or 6:00—I'd have had a violation. Between working and having to depend on somebody all the time.

Eileen: Well, they know you don't have a license, that you don't have a vehicle, and they know everybody has to drive people from [a distance]. Even if we were fighting and I didn't live here any more, I would still take her on Mondays. She knows. It's the baby. He's my love.

For family members who try to figure out ways of handling multiple and often conflicting demands on their time and changes in the social worlds in and beyond their household, life is stressful, but each in one way or another emphasizes the need to "do what has to be done" under the circumstances. Thus, in the complex world of *doing* family, compliance is more than a measurable event of obedience to official rules, but is instead viewed by members as an interactive accomplishment that shapes their day to day living. The depth of this enmeshment is ubiquitous as family members, like Iris's aunt, Avery's girlfriend, Janelle's sister, Emory's girlfriend, Frank's mother, Aunt Belle and others responded to my directive to "tell me what life is like for you as a person living with someone on Community Control."

Reorganizing the Social World

In one form or another, all family members produced accounts of a social world that had changed drastically to accommodate the restrictions placed on the controllee. It

was clear that in some households all members were virtually on Community Control. For a few, the initial change is described in terms of an adjustment period in order to develop strategies for returning a sense of normalcy for members despite the controllee's restrictions. In these narratives, we see members include strategies for attempting, at least, to maintain status quo. Controllee David's wife, Alicia, for example, tells her children:

> Keep going. Keep living. Keep doing the things you're doing. Because you're only a child for a short period of you life. Do what you need to do as a child. Go to your birthday parties. Figure out. You've got a lot of resources. Your mom and dad aren't your only sources for transportation. You've got friends to help you out. . . . So, understand your resources. It's no longer just your mom and dad. But you've got friends or aunts or uncles. You've got people you know that will help if you learn how to say, "I need a hand getting to this program, or to this situation, or to this birthday party."

Yet even she misses the occasional evening out together, the time that they used to have to enjoy movies, dinners, and socializing with friend's from work. She says she keeps it all in perspective, however, and they do together the routine activities allowed on the schedule.

> Now, our time is going to the grocery store. You know, sometimes they actually have little food samples. Okay, it's not cappuccino, you know but—I try to keep an open mind in the situation. [Elaborates] Sometimes having to look at the consequences, you have to remind yourself because, if I—if he violates this, then he's going away for 30 years. That's his alternative. It is worth it? Is it worth it to run up to the little store to get a gallon of milk for me because I don't feel well? Because you may get away with it this time, and maybe this time, but is it worth it if you don't? Thirty years is a long time to get a gallon of milk, and so you have to keep reminding yourself: This is just for a little period of time.

This level of strategic planning and resourcefulness is not the usual in the families I interviewed. Instead, many members expressed fear of the consequences of violation. Instead of strategies for "making it," they produced repetitive descriptions of hardships and the probabilities and consequences of risk. Lacking resources outside the household, they were more likely to emphasize the "aggravations" of trying to make it all work. In some of these cases, social life outside the family was deliberately curtailed by the member who felt guilty about going to events without the controllee.

For those like Controllee Ralph's wife, who choose to limit their social life outside the home, the loss of contact with friends and other family members constitutes a void extending into their relationship with each other. Despite the teamwork she described as "what marriage should be," a sense of loss emerges as she talks about missing dinner at her parents home, and being "tied down to home."

> Joan: It's hard, the weekends. Because the weekends I like to go out, do things together. Even if we just go out for a ride. We can't even do that. It's like I'm confined as much as he is 'cause I don't like to go out alone. I don't like to go to parties, or picnics, or family gatherings without him. I feel like, he's family. He should be there.

Ralph interrupts as this point to remind me that, in our interview before Joan came home, he had predicted his wife would say that. Now she went on justifying her stance and organizing her argument as a system of personal values.

> Joan: If my spouse can't go, I'm not going off to a party or picnic without him. That's part of life. That's part of being married.

Ansay: Would you feel guilty?

> Joan: Would I feel guilty to go without him? Oh, ya. I've done it a couple times and I've come back home. I feel guilty that he's sitting here locked in this house and can't even go to the family's house to dinner or anything. [Elaborates] You can't even socialize with your friends at church. It's to church and straight home. And it's very hard.

Ralph and his wife talk together about the limitations in their social life, how other people on Community Control might not take seriously the restrictions, and how much he has to lose if he violates. Joan and her family have supported him financially throughout his time on Control. As he says, "They are family."

Loss of a social is articulated more poignantly as loneliness when Controllee Emory's girlfriend, Sarah, talks about it. Although Sarah occasionally goes out with her friends, she says she feels lonely when she hears other people talk about the things they do. After titling one of her chapters, "I'm So Lonely," she describes a time when she experienced loneliness. She identifies this loneliness as "stress" as she begins an account of what life is now like for her:

> Like, um, I was just sittin' at my job and a couple ladies were talkin' about trips they were taking and I thought, "Gosh, I wish I could take a trip to. But I cant' do it, because he can't go. And, I don't know. [Pause.] It just make—I don't know. It's just real stressful sometimes.

"I get real upset when he can't do things," she reiterates later in the interview, "but it's not his fault because, you know, he was put on house arrest." I ask her to talk more about "being upset."

> Sometimes I show it. Sometimes I won't cook for him, or like, um, if he needed me to go to the store for him, sometimes I don't want to go because, you know, I'm like, "Gosh, he used to go the store for himself." So, I don't know. It's, it's aggravatin'.

Unlike others who used the word "aggravating" to describe their circumstances, Sarah's strategy for handling the stress of these upsets is to read her Bible or write poetry. One poem, a poem of acceptance, begins with the words: "If life was like a sparrow flying high in the sky, I could se Jesus in the blink of an eye." Sarah believes firmly in a higher power—a God who "look[s] down at a saddened face" and "lets us take life at our own pace." In the end, she turns her sadness, her stress, over to God: "Fly away sparrow, for God is good. . . ." (As promised to Sarah, the full text of the poem appears as Appendix B.) "That was one of the aggravatin' days," Sarah told me. "We got into an argument and I just thought of writing."

The social life that Sarah misses most, and that creates the most stress for her, is the loss of all the things she and Emory did together away from home, especially the things they did with their son. Sadly, she describes going out to eat with her niece on Valentine's Day instead of being with Emory for a romantic celebration of the occasion. Speaking of another time, she says, "I wanted, I wanted to go see my mom and I asked [the officer] can he go. He told me, 'Well, no.' It wasn't like a death or anything, so he couldn't go." Returning to this theme later in the interview she reiterated, "You can't take trips. You can't go out to eat. And really, you can't do anything," she said. Although she will sometimes go out with friends, or take their son out to McDonald's, the loneliness is still there. "When I take the baby out to eat sometimes, he can't go. So, it's just me and him. We eat alone, or with my niece's friends." Like most other members who feel strongly the loss of a social world outside the household, Sarah feels guilty when she leaves to find it on her own. "It isn't a one person sentence," she says.

Organizing Personal Space

While sometimes spouses and significant others focus on a loss of the social outside the home, members also lament the loss of time for being alone in their own homes now that the controllee member is confined there. Home for the families I interviewed was usually a single width "trailer" (mobile home) or small apartment unit. The typical space available included two bedrooms, an open living and dining area, a kitchen or kitchenette, and the bathroom. Unlike controllees who described the isolation and loneliness of being confined to such limited space all day every day, other family members frequently spoke of the lack of privacy as a hardship in their world and a part of their overall "stress." They may articulate the problem of living on house arrest as Frank's mother did when she said, "It's just nerve-racking."

The first time I interviewed Frank's mother, Marion, she and her son were living in a two bedroom apartment with an "efficiency" kitchen/living combination. The room was small and, with the furniture in place, there was just enough space for Frank to do push-ups on the floor between the television and the sofa. They shared a narrow front porch with the tenants in the next apartment. The street was no more than ten feet from the front of the house. By the time of the second interview, they had moved one building away to a slightly larger unit with a separate kitchen and dining room. The living room, however, was not much bigger than the first one, and the front yard was as limited as before. Because of a violation earlier in his Community Control, the judge had ordered an electronic monitor for Frank. The "box," with its blinking lights, is a permanent resident in the living room; it's place is a shelf along the wall opposite the sofa where the

phone line comes into the room. The following excerpt from the interview with Frank's mother illustrates the complicated linkages between personal space— privacy— and stress, and it's connection to changes in her social world. Although only two of the participants in this study were on electronic monitors, the conditions of privacy and stress are similar to others whose space is severely limited. I quote at length from her interview to show the complexity of the linkages she constructs.

> Ansay: Besides moving to a new apartment, how have things been going for you?
>
> Mother: Ohhh. I don't know. This apartment has made it better, but it's still working on our nerves. Maybe more so. Both of us are very nervous. I'm a nervous wreck.
>
> Ansay: How do you notice that?
>
> Mother: Ahhh. I can't sleep. Nauseated. It's just nerves. And it's all from—[She gestures to the monitor box in the corner of the room.] See, I watch this box all the time. I don't know how they can tell because, like the light, well the little green light shows it's plugged into the electricity. The other light shows when he's supposedly supposed to be away from it. Okay. It has been blinking several times this morning, like three or four times. It'll blink.
>
> Ansay: Right now, you have the little green and the little orange one.
>
> Mother: Now the orange is just the one that shows he's within, you know, where he's supposed to be. That's what she [the officer] tells us. That's the one that's been blinking all morning.
>
> Ansay: And he's been sleeping.
>
> Mother: And he's been sleeping. So, I wonder, how do they know when he's away from it. Besides the noise. It will start with a noise when he goes away from it. [Elaborates] To me, it shouldn't blink when he's right there where he's supposed to be.

She has never asked the officer about it, but when her son asked he was told that it was working properly. Still, his mother worries because, as she reasons through the mechanics of "how these things should work," it doesn't make sense.

> Mother: It's nerve-racking to the people, you know, living in the house because, you know, it's something you wouldn't wish on your worst enemy. To me—I mean, you always have to answer to somebody calling, or there's somebody coming to the door. And it's beginning to tell on Frank because he's been, he's been on house arrest almost a year. [Elaborates] He's short with me, and like last night, we were fussin'. I mean, all the time we're fussin'. That's something we never did.

> Ansay: Something, like last night? What triggered the fuss?

> Mother: I think it's the idea that we're—here we are. He can't go anywhere. He's got to set here with me and I'm wantin' to watch this TV. He's wantin' to watch that—and we only have the one television, by the way. And, um, then this girl comes over that we know. Well, he's not wantin' me in here. He's wanting me to go to bed, and I'm not wantin' to go to bed. See, usually I would of had my time because he could go out, and now he can't go out. He has to sit here with me. [Elaborates] I think it will finally drive you to reachin' over there and grabbin' that box and throwing it out the door. You know what I'm sayin'? Because here it is, it's settin' there blinkin' and then it'll go off and you'll be talkin' on the telephone. That thing'll go off and a red light comes on. It's callin' to tell them than he's where he's supposed to be, but you cannot use your telephone when that happens. And it happens, you know, several times a day. And at night. So you're on the telephone when here comes this noise. You got to get off your telephone.

Since they cannot afford a second phone line, they have no plan for changing the circumstances that she constructs as "nerve-wracking." Indeed, the only solution she can see is for the court to rule on it. That, she says, should be coming up soon, but she

doesn't know when it will be. That, too, is stressful for Marion because, "they don't tell you anything."

Collectively, the narratives of family members construct a view of a relational world complicated by the mundane tasks of "doing" family with few material resources and little "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1977) to call upon. Within the term "cultural capital," I include not only the deficit understanding differential that stems from the separation of criminal justice and familial rationalities, but also the different practical knowledges that greater material and educational resources might provide. Yet, regardless of the particular circumstances of these families, the conventional understanding of a support system implies the availability of easily accessible resources for carrying out the directives of both official policy and officer discretion. For most of the families who participated in this study, that is not the case. As noted earlier in this chapter, among the controllees referred by control officers and supervisors for the present study, many are unemployed—even unemployable—due to a lack of vocational or academic training or disabling medical conditions. Frequently, they lack transportation not only to take them to work but also to do basic shopping and household errands without depending on someone else. Single custodial parents have the added child care complications; noncustodial parents, already limited to scheduled visitations, must depend on others to transport the children to and from their homes. And, since missing payments constitutes a violation, all participants in this study are seriously worried about money.

Thus, we see the organizational circumstances that constitute the familial and social as a stress-filled world of punitive restrictions and limited resources for

accommodating them. It is also an active world in which members "do for each other" in the context of a care and concern for each other. There is evidence from the interviews that the stress members articulate emerges from within these relationships. In the following section, therefore, I shift the lens to focus more closely on the narrative construction of familial responsibility as a condition of stress.

Constructing Familial Responsibility

Although the word "responsibility" is not always used directly when referring to loved ones as a family, the linkage between member roles and interpersonal obligations is readily apparent as family members talk about relational issues that make everyday life on Community Control— the problematic of concern—a hardship. "Family responsibility," therefore, refers more generally to the ways in which role identities are used to account for members' understanding of their obligations to each other in this context. Frequently, family responsibility constitutes the stress that members feel in their lives. Typically, it is marked by feelings of fear, resentment, worry and guilt.

Take the following comments by Controllee Avery's significant other, Verna, as an example. She says: "If they're there to be with their families and stuff and you tell 'em they can't do this and that, it's just like saying—well, it's almost a lie," she told me as she nursed their newborn infant. Verna had been home from the hospital only two days at the time of the interview. The baby had been delivered by Caesarean Section and now, as she recovers from the surgery with orders not to do any lifting, she needs "more than just help in the house." No allowance was made in Avery's schedule to accommodate her needs, yet she worries about her kids and her relationship with her

husband. Mostly right now, she worries about how she will get the baby to the doctor at the hospital in a neighboring county. She says the family is under a lot of "strain" because "we're stuck with the things he's gotta do." Here is what she says in the chapter of her "book" she titled "Coping."

> You just have to try to, I guess keep yourself hopeful. And that's hard when you have everything else to worry about. 'Cause you don't have just to worry about reporting and filling out a sheet, you know. They let him come home [from jail] to be with family and stuff, but at the same time, they like—you got your restriction on just about anything you can do. Sometimes you got this you got to worry about. You got to worry about your regular life because you're home. You got everyday life that you got to worry about which means kids, which means—if you're married—husband and wife, or significant other, and that's—you know, you got all those things to worry about. You gotta try to figure out, stay more or less calm. You gotta try not to stress yourself out so bad, I guess. But that's kind of hard on your family, you got so much to worry about.

For most members, daily life constitutes a dual metaphor of surface tension and density; life, they say, is "hard, very hard." The way in which familial responsibilities are constructed conditions the level of "hardness" that is experienced. Three patterns of "familial responsibility" emerged from the narratives, and I've categorized them briefly as (a) shifting roles, (b) doing double duty, and (c) letting go. I refer to them collectively as narratives of familial responsibility.

Shifting Roles

For some members, the restrictions of Community Control create a shift in domestic responsibilities requiring the "free" member to take on the routine tasks that had previously been shared between partners. Controllee David's wife, Alicia, for instance, talks about the long hours she now works to support the family. What is difficult, she

says, is the ambivalence of the situation. "He's home, but he's not home. He's here, but he's not available for a lot of things." She provides an example of what she means:

> Like [our daughter]—the other night she needed to be picked up from school at 5:30, which means she didn't have public transportation to the school bus, and I got tied up at work until 5:20. I couldn't call [my husband] and say, "I'm getting tied up here at [the medical facility where she works]. Can you cover for me?" If the kids get sick, or if I get sick, I can't say, "Do this for us." We have a tighter skeleton to work in. Um, before, you know, there was that freedom to call and say, "I'm stuck. I'm on call. I've gotten [an emergency case]. [Our daughter] has this function. Can you haul 'em to and from?"

Earlier, David and his wife had described their marriage as a shared partnership, thus, the skeleton metaphor aptly amplifies a very basic shift from these familial roles. Yet the "skeleton," the underlying paradigm of partnership, remains in place as she notes: "Before, when we both worked, we split up the tasks. It's just shifted a little bit right now. He's home more, so he cleans a little bit more. That's fine with me." Although money is tight on a single income, that income is high enough to continue the conservative lifestyle they enjoyed before. Besides, David's unemployment is temporary as he completes college classes toward a degree that potentially includes a medium income career.

David's wife claims she understands her husband's "feelings of isolation" and, although she recognizes that "not including them makes it hard for them," yet, in her construction of family, she has little patience for anyone who is individually centered. "It's not all about [him] and what [he's] going through. You got a family that has to do what it has to do to get through it too. And everybody's got to get through it."

From her past experience as a single mother battered by a former husband, David's wife says she has had to make it on her own before. She expects no less from herself this time, from her children, or from David. Her portrayal of family is one of team effort and she expresses little patience for anyone who fails to pull from their own resources to support the team.

> Alicia: Do what you need to do. I'm not responsible for filling out the sheet or making sure he's in where he needs to be. If he violates, it's his problem. But I've made it clear, if he violates, then he's violated more than his probation or his Community Control. He's violated what this family's trying to keep together right now.
>
> Ansay: So it's a family effort?
>
> Alicia: Right. Together we can get through this. Together. And if we want to do it separately, we'll get through it separately.
>
> Ansay: Do you think people can get through it separately?
>
> Alicia: [Pause.] No, I think that [he] relies on us for a lot of support. As small as his freedom is, we provide a lot for him too. I mean, we bring the outside world in with us.

David's family provides an example of those who work at adjusting their lives to status quo by utilizing their existing resources. Although money is tight, it is adequate, and strategies are in place for overcoming the obstacles they meet on a day to day basis. Life is hard, but it is manageable if each member adjusts to the immediate conditions of control. "Doable" is the word Alicia uses to sum it all up.

Doing Double Duty

For most families, however, resources similar to those of David's family are not available. Typically, the narratives of these other family members depict struggles to

meet financial obligations, and the continuing worry about "what happens if. . ." As they talk about their the hardships of daily life, they communicate an image of an idealized stable and orderly family in which the everyday routines and member expectations remain consistent over time. The scenes of domestic tranquility are replaced by disorder as members talk about life in the present. Interpersonal roles are constructed as "'burdensome," "frustrating," and "stressful." Life is no longer predictable. It is "hard." Under these circumstances, the complexities surrounding everyday routines merge and swell to challenge not only member roles but the meaning of the relationship itself. These accounts produce two forms of role relationships. In one, the narrator takes the role of "martyr"—that is, the person who assumes the responsibility for everything the controllee can no longer do, while the controllee, on the other hand, plays the "victim of circumstances," assuming a role of helpless against the odds. The second form I've labeled "shared victimization."

A word of caution is required here. The terms "martyr" and "victim" are not used to attach blame to individuals for the circumstances of their lives or to minimize the frustration and agony members portray in their relationship to each other and to the system. Instead, they are used analytically to demonstrate the sense of hopelessness that emerges when the resources needed for daily life are no longer available. Even as they perceive domestic disorder, neither member is able to define a management strategy for overcoming it. Instead, they actively construct supporting roles, each legitimating the claims the other makes against the officer or the criminal justice system, as they try to make sense of their lives.

Martyr/Victim. A rather extensive extract from an interview with Ralph's wife illustrates the martyr/victim typification:

Ansay: Tell me what it's like for you with Ralph on Community Control.

Joan: It's hard on me. I work full time. It's very hard on me.

Ansay: Can you tell me about that?

Joan: When bills need to be paid. Or like right now. I'm supposed to be taking care of my mom's place. And it's hard for me to work full time and take care of that place after work. I'm working an eight, ten hour shift and the things he could be doing to help out around here—It's just hard because he can't go pay bills—

Ralph, who is sitting nearby in the small living area of their trailer home, interrupts loudly to say that he *can't* do it. She clarifies that she knows it, and that's the point.

Joan: Like today, they're giving me a hard time 'cause we mailed it [the phone bill] in. They're threatening to turn the phone back off again. But I had to mail it in 'cause I can't be running constantly. [Elaborates, then shifts] I mean, it's okay except when emergencies come up. What do we do? When my car breaks down, he can't come and get me. I have to call everybody else to try to get somebody to come and get me. When my car breaks down, he can't be out of here else he's in trouble, and that we don't want to do.

Ralph: [Repeats the account of the incident he had told me earlier.]

Joan: It does get hard on me though.

Ralph: It does. I know it does.

Joan: It's gotten harder recently because my other job I was working eleven to seven at night. It wasn't as hard because I was able to do things during the day. [Elaborates] If he don't get to the store on his [scheduled] time, we're in trouble. And if I take off from work,

then we lose money. [Elaborates further on her job. Reiterates that it's hard.]

Joan also tells me that her privacy is gone because of his punishment. "I like a glass of wine now and then," she says. "I can't even have it in the house here. If they come in and see that wine, they're going to think he's drinking it. He'll get in trouble for it. I can't even keep it in the house." This, too, is a tile in the mosaic of hardship, only at this point in the interview, "hardship" shifts to become a shared quality embedded in their relationship as husband and wife.

Joan: I've got the complete responsibility put on me. Everything. The cars. The house. Working. Finances. Doing errands. I'm totally responsible for everything in the house. I have to do everything. Where I'm used to depending on him to do things for me while I'm working and stuff, now I have complete responsibility on me..

Ralph: See, that's the stress on me. I can't even help her. I can't be that man—at three o'clock in the morning, if she breaks down on the side of the road, I can't even go get her. I can't do that.

Joan: Like the night I drove off the road and hit a tree. There was nobody there. I had to stay there and sleep in the care. [Elaborates]

Ralph: My stress is her stress, because I make her life miserable by my circumstances. But that's not fair. She's being punished for my punishment.

Joan: Ya. But, Honey, I've accepted that.

Ralph: She's being punished. My mother's being punished. Her mother's being punished. Her father's being punished. [Elaborates that the punishment for them is his inability to help them when they need it. He links this to the social restrictions around them.]

Ansay: [to wife] You are not legally obligated to follow the same restrictions he has. Why do you do it?

Joan: Because I happen to love my husband. [Elaborates] We're a team. We're together. It's not like we're living two separate lives. We're living one life. He doesn't have his life and I have my life. We're living one life. What affects him affects me. And that's the way it should be with all married couples. . . .But it's hard on him sitting around and doing nothing. He feels useless. He can't do anything. It makes him feel really useless. He says so himself. He feels like he's not a husband, he's not a provider, nothing, because he can't go and do things a man should do. And he feels—it bothers him a lot. I can see it in his eyes. I can hear it in his voice. It bothers him a lot.

Ansay: And that gets back to you again.

Joan: Umhmm. And then I get all upset when I get it put on me, and I take it out on him, and we end up taking it out on each other. We never argued like we do now. And it's usually over the bills getting paid. . .

Joan's account demonstrates the interlinkages of components noted in several accounts of familial responsibilities. She begins with emphasis on the immediate needs of their lives, then shifts to the moral responsibility of what family really means. A third component is the stress that emerges within the problematic of fitting it all together—the guilt of never quite doing enough. And finally for Joan, the strategy component that organizes the relationship and constitutes familial responsibility as the activity of family experience. While her husband claims his role as "a victim of circumstances," her strategy is to continue "the way I have been. One day at a time. Doing what I could do without letting it get to me. But it does. He's been getting the worst of my mood lately. I'm telling you."

Shared Victimization. Frequently, as the good officer/bad officer accounts in Chapter four demonstrated, controllees invoked claims of unfairness in order to present

themselves as victims of the criminal justice system. Family members, even when interviewed separately from the controllees, produced similar accounts which, in effect, supported the claims of other members to produce a coherent family narrative of house arrest. The collaborative interview with Orchel and Doris, demonstrates how this kind of accounting strategy establishes the relationship that I construct as "shared victimization." Like other relationship stories, the narrative involves a complex weaving to produce familial responsibility. Thus, I quote it at length.

"What do you think his motive is?" I asked Orchel. He had just finished telling the story of his first violation, one which he claims was a coerced admission of guilt to a charge fabricated by the control officer. He had ended the account by saying, "It's political." My question seemed to surprise Orchel, but then he replied:

Orchel: I don't think he likes my looks. [Laughs] I, I really don't know.

Doris: He told him from the start he was going to violate him.

Orchel: He told me the very first day I seen him. He said, "I'm going to violate you."

Doris: To me that sounds like he was out for this man from the start. He didn't even know his background or nothing like that.

Orchel continues by telling me a lengthy version of his life story, producing an identity as a morally responsible person, competent in his employment, and not "Mr. Rob A Bank or something." He says his career has been ruined by the way in which the case was handled. After elaborating further on the theme of unfairness, the narrative shifts to relationship matters. Doris provides the linkage that implements the shift.

Doris: That's how nervous he gets. And he's, you know, on house arrest. I've seen that man. I mean, he's about to go crazy. You know, he can't do what he wants to do because. . .

Orchel: [Interrupts] It's not what I want to do. It's what I gotta do. [Elaborates]

Doris: [To me.] That's how he's getting to be.

Orchel: And it affects my relationship with my son. I don't get to see my son, you know.

Doris: It's like I said, I would like to see him go ahead and finish his jail time than have to live like this. It's really hard on us because he don't, he don't know from one minute whether he has to do something that's really very—like going to the emergency room [for a recurring medical condition.] If it's after five o'clock, there's nobody to get hold of [at the control office]. So what do you do? Do you let him die right there then? It's just, to me, it's difficult I mean.

Characteristically, no direct strategies for daily living emerge from narratives of shared victimization. Instead, there is only the mutual fear of violation, and that fear appears to paralyze the members individually and in their relationship as well. Their focus remains on the probability of violation. "It's always with you," Doris told me. "There's no time of the day which is safe, it seems like. You're so scared of this man [the officer] violating him that he don't really want to do anything now." Like Ralph, who pointed out that his stress is his wife's stress as well, Orchel and Doris and others who portray a domestic household characterized by fear, these family members share the sentiments and construct the pain of imprisonment as an unrelenting condition in their lives. Over and over they construct their circumstances as "worse than prison," even "a thousand times worse than prison." Lacking resources of their own, they seek an outside savior to change the conditions that envelope them. "I'm pacing back and forth to the

door," claims Orchel while demonstrating the route for me. "[That was] the other night, and I tell her, 'You just got to take me to that hospital, to that mental hospital. I'm done. I can't take it no more.'"

Recall the metaphor of stricture that Ralph used—"Community Control is like having your head in a vice. And it's constantly being screwed tighter because you're under the pressure. In these accounts which I've categorized as "martyr/victim" and "shared victimization," fear and stress are inseparable and mutually constitute one another in relation to the problematic the members share. Moreover, in most cases, members collaboratively or in separate interviews, support each other's claims about them.

Letting Go

For some family members, especially the adult siblings or parents of young, unmarried controllees in this study, the "hardness" of family life was experienced as an obligation to supervise and control the behavior of the controllee. Inevitably, this overseer/protector role created additional tension in which resentments escalated and tempers frequently flared. Controllee Frank's mother describes the way she and her son are now continually "fussin'" at each other.

> Mother: I think most of it is the fact that he's wanting to go out. He's young, and everybody's coming by, going out somewhere, and he can't go. Then he'll have someone call. They'll be at the house, you know, and ask him to go out. Well—or come over here knowin' he can't go over there you know. And that will start it, you know, because he'll sit up here and say, "Well, I'm goin' so and so," you know, knowin' he's not goin'. But then I get upset because I think he's goin'. You know. [Imitates his voice saying back to her:] "You know I'm not goin'. I can't go." But it—I

> really don't know. You know, it's just little things. Every little thing seems to trigger a fuss now.

Frank had already completed almost a year on Community Control at the time of the interview. Except for the one violation which she said occurred when he was in the backyard and not off the property, he has followed the rules "to the letter." "How do you account for this success?" I asked.

> Because I'm always nagging him on it. [She laughs.] I don't know. I guess it [the possibility of a prison sentence] scares him to, you know. He's scared of it and I think, you know, when they violated him that one time. That's really scared him. So, um, I really, I don't know if it's— I do nag a lot about it. "Don't do this and don't do this and you can't do this and—what worries me, too, is some of his friends'll walk up with a beer in their hand. . .

Her "nagging" goes hand in hand with the worries about the friends who might entice her son to leave the premises without permission, or who will be there with beer when the officer arrives unexpectedly. So she continues to worry and to "cope with all this as a mother" by continuing to understand his fussin' as evidence of "all that is hard for him."

Controllee Janelle's sister, Janice, on the other hand, would write a chapter of her "book" on letting her sister take responsibility for her own actions. For a time following the birth of her baby, Janelle lived with her sister and depended on her for child care and transportation. "It was—we have a small house, you know. It was crowded and it was hard on all of us." Janice says she used to cry whenever her sister went out with a boyfriend without her officer's approval. "I would be at the point where I would cry because I was always so scared that she would get caught and then the baby wouldn't

have its mama." Now that Janelle is living in an apartment nearby, Janice feels less responsibility for her.

> I don't feel as responsible for her. If I feel like she's done something she's not supposed to, I don't let it bother me as much because I don't know what she's doing. Here, if I felt like, that she was doing something that she wasn't supposed to do or whatever, I'd feel more responsible. My main concern is the baby, making sure she doesn't mess up and then have to go back to jail, and then I'd have to take care of the baby. [Elaborates] But now that she has her own place, I don't have time to worry about it. I mean, if she messes up and he has to come over here, that's just the way it's going to be.

However, Janice doesn't question her obligation to Janelle.

> I have another sister that's older than me in [names a city in another county]. But she hasn't come, or couldn't come out here and help Janelle or take her anywhere 'cause she worked. My mom works. I mean, actually the only reason Janelle is here [in this area] is because I'm here. And she was pregnant and my stepfather found out. He kicked her out. She was six months pregnant, so of course I said she could come stay with us. And that's just how it worked out that she's here.

Even now, Janice cares for the baby while Janelle works nights, often as late as two or three in the morning as an assistant manager of a fast-food restaurant. Looking back at the days when Janelle lived with her she says:

> Janice: You know, I love the baby to death and I would take care of him as my own, but I guess there'd have to be a lot of responsibility in it because I—I had to learn to let go of that.
>
> Ansay: And how did you do that?
>
> Janice: Talking to my husband. And he would get upset because I would get upset. You know, he would get mad at her and then he would get mad at me for letting myself get upset. And I had to learn—well, I guess I didn't learn until she moved out, and even for a little while after she moved out, I tried to oversee and make sure she was doing right. And I had to learn that it's not my responsibility.

The linkage between a utilitarian version of "family support" and the obligations members feel toward one another is immediately evident from the narratives examined above. For the most part, however, the categories that I've constructed to demonstrate familial responsibility are not as sharply defined as I present them. There is overlapping in some cases. At other times, the narratives shift to alternately utilize the strategic differences the categories suggest. In all cases, however, what emerges as "hard" for families in these narratives of familial responsibility is linked to the relationship conditions that constitute stress. It is in that linkage that the on-going process of family support is experienced. And it is in that linkage that the problematic of house arrest is embedded in the everyday lives of these families.

The Multidimensionality of Stress

As discussed in Chapter Four, "family," as a valued relationship, is extremely important in the way controllees organize their lives and in the extent to which they negotiate the boundaries of their control. However, as we have seen, the tensions of competing discourses are embedded in the processes through which the familial order is reorganized around the conditions of their lives. Thus far, in this chapter, we've examined the tensions in domestic life in relation to changing relationships and familial responsibility. Is stress conditioned similarly for controllees?

Like other family members, controllees frequently use the term "hard" to describe the experience of Community Control. However, they are more likely than other members to use implement a vocabulary of mental health as they talk about specific events in their lives. The word "stress" comes up repeatedly; also more colloquial

phrases as "going crazy," being a "nervous wreck," "losing my mind," or "getting paranoid." There is frequent talk of depression, usually linked to loneliness and isolation, and, in three cases, talk of suicide.

The examination that follows concentrates on the meaning of stress as a personal, albeit social, experience in controllees' lives. Although the similarities are evident from the preceding discussion, especially from the collaborative accounts of Joan and Ralph or Orchel and Doris, the differences in the experience of stress constitutes the extent to which Community Control is experienced as punishment.

Viewed from a psychological perspective, stress, such as that described in the context of the ongoing threat of consequences and loss of control in one's life, is a phenomenon of private experience. It has inner emotional contours. Although conditioned by environmental influences—in this case, the official world of criminal justice rules—it is distinguishable from the outer interactional domestic world in which it is organized. In the narrative accounting for stress, however, there is only a momentary, artificial distinction between the inner feeling of stress, the conditions that organize it, and the event through which it is invoked. An extract from the first interview with Controllee David illustrates the point. In it, he responds to my directive to talk about life on Community Control.

> Well, the personal, day-to-day living is what I go through by myself when I'm here. Waking up in the morning, seeing the wife and the kids off, and then, after that, what do I do? Well, if I'm here all day, I have to plan what I'm going to do to keep me busy because I know if I sit idle too long I'll be getting restless. I'll be wanting to go somewhere, but I know I can't, and that would bring me back down. The family changes—[Pauses] They have to just accept the situation that I'm in. They know that I can't go anywhere and I'm not holding them back from, for them, doing what

> they want to do. I mean, if they want to go see a movie, I encourage it. I don't want them to be punished with me, even though they are in a way. I don't want them to be on house arrest.

As narratives like David's show, boundaries of personal and social life shift to foreground first one dimension, then the other for emphasis. Thus, by considering stress as a product of these narratives, we gain a sense of its meaning in controllees' lives.

Although as we saw in Chapter Four, controllees may organize their narratives to contrast their domestic circumstances with the alternative world of jail or prison, most controllees express thankfulness for the opportunity to continue living at home with their families and other comforts— private showers, a comfortable bed, their own TV, and meals as they want them are most often cited. Viewed against a horizon of preferred comfort, life at home can be "anything like any other normal family. We can do homework together. We can watch TV. We can do yard work. Anything that a normal family could do. If they want to go somewhere else, they have to go without me."

When the horizon shifts, however, and the focus is on the dual aspects of home confinement and intensive supervision, a far different domestic image emerges. Although in one sense their lives remain "normal," the continuity of isolation, that is, the extent to which social contact outside the home is limited over time, impinges on that sense of normalcy. They may say as one man did, "This is not a normal life."

Time spent at home alone takes the shape of isolation under the circumstances of Community Control and forms the social space of home as a prison cell. Men without children and men without jobs were most likely to experience this form of loneliness.

Look how David constructs a space of loneliness and isolation. Speaking about the extra hours his wife works to support him and the children, he says:

> Even if it's more money, I'd rather have the time with her than the money. She—I think she feels guilty at times for doing things without me even though I try to encourage her to do 'em best as I can. There are times I'll say, "Why don't you go here or go there. Take the kids. Have a good time." But I think in my voice she can hear, "Go there, but I really want you to stay here with me. I'm tired of being alone."

David returns to the theme of loneliness repeatedly during our first interview when he was unemployed. Although he says he does not want his wife "to feel obligated to be here with me," he says he is often "sending conflicting messages" for her to stay at home with him.

Loneliness and uselessness are the two most often described characteristics of the personal world controllees describe. And, as David points out, "[uselessness is] a different kind of loneliness." Because David is particularly articulate, I rely on his account again to exemplify another dimension of the loneliness that others portray frequently, though perhaps, less eloquently.

> I never thought I would get depressed to the point where I thought, "Why wake up tomorrow?" But, I've been there. I've been suicidal off and on since the incident [the crime for which he was convicted] took place [gives date.] [Elaborates] But the depression mostly now isn't one that would lead me to suicide. It's just the day-to-day non-productivity that I'm feeling. I feel that I'm less of an individual than I used to be. I'm not providing for my family financially like I want to—like I'm used to doing. I'm not able to see my friends on a regular basis. They have their own lives. Some have dissociated themselves from me. [Elaborates] And the depression and loneliness combined makes some days very hard.

He describes the house and yard work he does during the day, and the rude shift he needs to make back into a world that requires communication when his wife and

children come home. They have interactive social lives beyond the household that constitute interesting things to talk about. In contrast, David feels "left out."

> I have nothing to contribute from my day's events other than, "I burned another wood pile," or "we got three more chickens [taken by a fox]. The communication's gone one way a lot of times because I don't have anything to say positive about my day other than, "You missed a good movie, but I got it on tape for you."

Linking his sentiments to the circumstances of confinement he adds: "There's a lot of loneliness to being here."

As we have seen, the feelings of loneliness and uselessness are regularly linked to conditions of isolation and depression. These are not separate dimensions of stress but, rather, intertwining conditions that evince the embeddedness of criminal justice control in a domestic context. Consider Controllee Ralph's use of jail as a device for comparing the two worlds of stress, one hypothetical, the other his reality. Returning to an earlier metaphor of a "vice" that squeezes tighter, Ralph constructs and image of a privileged life outside of jail to describe the magnitude of his internalized, personal hardship.

> I'm allowed certain privileges which in jail you don't get. In that sense, it's a hell—it's a thousand times better than being in jail. But the mental part of it cancels out all that. The mental voids. I mean, it will literally drive you crazy. If you—if there was enough time, it would be like a POW. After a while, you literally go stark, raving made if you had to stay on this for 20 years.

If Ralph were writing a book about life on Community Control, he would include a chapter on stress, not just on himself, but on others as well. "You know," he explained, "there's a lot of stress put on my girlfriend. It creates problems for us because of, because of this stress. The non-socializing. It's inability to—see, she's in prison too."

"Where is the stress?" I asked him.

"The whole program is stress. [Shouting] That's the prison. The stress is the prison. I don't have—I don't have bars outside, physical bars. I have bars in my head."

Linking Depression and Understanding

Feelings of isolation, uselessness, and unpredictability, lack of control over "something that has a life of it's own," and an "ongoingness" of a pain that others don't seem to understand— these are characteristics of depression described by David Karp (1994; 1996) as a dialectic between depression and the social experiences that surround it. Many controllees adopt a similar vocabulary of depression in portraying the stress they feel in their lives. Although there were exceptions, like Petra who was free of drugs after years as what she called, a "crackhead," and Quentin who had been on control only a few weeks, most of the controllees whom I interviewed constructed a self experiencing disconnection from family members in one way or another. Ironically, several controllees articulated disconnection as a lack of understanding on the part of those family members who, simultaneously, constituted their support system. Consider these examples.

Ralph's focus throughout the interview is on his dependency on others, mostly on his girlfriend whose job supports both of them. While he recognizes the burden that she carries, he claims the legitimacy of his own suffering in the lack of understanding he attributes to her.

> Ralph: . . . that little bit of suffering, of their missing you if you went to jail, is minor compared to having to sit here and watch them have to suffer on a daily basis over me. She don't understand this. She don't understand how bad that hurts for me to—I have to sit and watch these people suffer.

Ansay: You don't think she understands. . .

Ralph: [Interrupts] She don't understand what I mean when I say that I'm depressed because of the stress. She thinks, "You should be happy. You're not in jail. You have a color TV to watch. You have a telephone to use. You got music to listen to. You have a yard to go out in. And all that. You got everything. I pay the house bill. I pay the water bill. You got it made." I don't have it made. I don't know if you can see what I'm talking about or not. I don't have it made. This is worse than being in jail. But she doesn't understand that. She doesn't understand why I should be depressed.

While some controllees, like Ralph, construct others' lack of understanding around their personal feelings, others organize their argument as a lack of understanding of the circumstances of Community Control as punishment. Controllee Hanna, for example, has only a few more weeks left to complete her sentence, yet she feels the lack of understanding constitutes a hardship that she faces daily. In fact, she said she would devote not just a chapter, but an entire "book" to "the definition of Community Control." She explains why:

Because my mother—you can explain something to her four times. Well, I have to eventually call my sister in and get my sister to explain it to her, about Community Control and no privileges. . .

Her mother is not the only one, however, who does not understand. Hanna continues her account to establish exactly what it is that is not understood.

No one understands the extent of that you have no privileges to yourself you know. Like in your orders that you sign, you know, the officer can come in and search your premises, search your house, search your cars, whatever, any given time without a warrant. People don't understand that. They just can't comprehend that. They, when you try to explain that to people, they're like, "No, that's not possible." But yes, it is possible. But people don't understand that, and no one has the risk of, if you're violated, or going to prison or to jail for a year, but you.

Lack of understanding of personal troubles and lack of understanding of the severity of the consequences constitute stress for controllees despite the relationship of support that exists between them and other family members. Ralph, for instance, feels pain despite the home-cooked food, shelter, clothing, the love of his girlfriend and her parents, and the little white dog that he strokes continuously as we talk. Hanna, living in a remote rural area, relies on her mother to pick up her check and cash it for her when she is delayed coming home from work. Recalling a time when waiting in a long line at the bank could have made her late in getting home, she describes how she changed course:

> So I just come straight on home and I had to call her and ask her or daddy to come out here and take it in there and cash it. Cause—or pick up medication, um, for me, you know, that the doctor has called in to the pharmacy. You know, my father has had to do that. He'll pick it up and bring it too me.

For Hanna, too, support means more than simply doing for. It means understanding her fear of violation as a dimension of compliance.

Living in Fear of Consequences

"There is no ease of mind," a controllee told me. "I'm on—it's with me 24 hours a day seven days a week. Every single second that I have to be as careful as I can possibly be. Like I said, one mistake and the whole two and a half years is gone and I go to jail."

For many controllees, the consequences of Community Control violation have already been decided by the court. Although the sentence to Community Control is currently being served, a pending jail or prison term is determined in case of violation. Controllees refer to these situations as "suspended sentences" for which they receive no

"good time" credit for any time served before violation. Violating even within one month of completion of Community Control can result in incarceration for the full pre-determined term. For one of the participants, that could be thirty years in prison.

For Controllee Frank, whom we met earlier, the consequences of violation are seven years in prison. These excerpts from two interviews with him illustrate the way in which a vocabulary of stress communicates personal disorder as he attempts to understand what he feels is happening inside of him. "I don't want to go to prison, but that's what I'm lookin' at if I violate now. That's the reason I don't leave the house, 'cause I'm lookin' at seven years eight months in prison if I violate."

> He [the judge] told me if I ever come back that things weren't going to be easy as it was last time. And they're like four months that I had spent in jail is easy. You know, he said I'll be in prison if I get back. That's the reason I don't want to leave that damm thing. [Gestures toward the monitor.] That thing blinks and, uh, [laughs sadly] and I'm a nervous wreck. [Begins crying again] I don't want to be in prison. I ain't nobody for prison. [Elaborates] I don't know. It don't make no sense. All it does is, is puts you through a lot of damm trouble and everything else, and they don't give a shit about you.

Frank's physical health has suffered as well. Continuing with an account of a time he walked his girlfriend to her car across the street—an event that resulted in an almost immediate phone call from his control officer—he indicates a bottle of pills on the shelf over the sink.

> Frank: I got to take 'em just to sleep.
>
> Ansay: Otherwise you wouldn't sleep?
>
> Frank: I wouldn't sleep at all. I might get a—like when I get home from work. I eat and take a shower and, uh, I sleep for about two or three hours. I wake up at one o'clock and cant' go back to sleep.

By the time of our second interview, Frank was visibly changed. His employer had closed the shop and Frank was now unemployed and the money he owed weighed heavily on him. His employer had provided transportation for Frank to get to and from work, now he had neither a job nor transportation. Moreover, he still had 150 community service hours to complete. Unshaven and disheveled, he slumped back on the sofa, ran his hands through his hair repeated, sighed deeply before each response, and, periodically, began to cry.

> Frank: I'm a nervous wreck. I'm losing my mind. You know, I stay up all night. I sleep all day. I don't do nothin'. I don't do nothin'. I can't do nothin'. I can't go outside. I can go out on the porch, but it's rainin' all the time and everythin. Can't do nothin' but sit in this house and watch cable TV. That's all I do. That's it.
>
> Ansay: What do you think about?
>
> Frank: I think about lots of stuff. [Cries] Ex-girlfriends. And nobody comes to see me. All I do is sit here by myself, and I think about a lot of stuff.
>
> Ansay: Do you think about yourself?
>
> Frank: Umhmmm. I don't want to talk to people any more. I don't want to—I don't want to talk to people. Like she [the officer] wants me to go do community service hours. [Elaborates] I don't want to do that. I don't want to talk to people. That's the way its made me. I don't know why. [Elaborates] I ain't never like that either. I always wanted to be with people. I reckon I'll be a damm couch potato after all this—if they ever let me go.

Several other controllees showed similar visible signs of a world reeling beyond their control. Recall how Orchel and his girlfriend had described his experience as "a living nightmare." Ralph provides an even more graphic description, although it, too, is

characteristic of those who link a hard life to the lack of control they feel. Here he compares the strain of a disordered world to a the alternative order of incarceration.

> You know, it's—Community Control is like having your head in a vice. And I constant—it's constantly being screwed tighter because you're under the pressure that one mistake and everything is for naught. Everything the family's done, everything anybody's done. You know, anything anybody—everything I've been through is down the tubes. So I have to walk a very cautious, cautious line. So mentally, I would rather, almost rather have taken the [jail] time. On the time, you do your time, your good behavior time. You can get early releases. Ah, you don't — you're not a burden on your family. You don't have to worry about making a mistake. Ah, you know, it's just you do your time and it's over with. There's no way to break the law in there other than maybe gettin' in a fight or something, or do something wrong in there, or something. But you're basically, you're, you got ease of, of, of mind. Out here, there is no ease of mind. I'm on—it's with me 24 hours a day 7 days a week. Every single second that I have to be as careful as I can possibly be. Like I said, one mistake and the whole two and a half years is gone. And I go to jail.

A Life Out of Control

When Controllee Nathan, who lived with his mother, said he felt stressed "any time I'm in the house," I asked him to describe what stress "looked like" in his circumstances. As the excerpt shows, he organized the description within a framework of control.

> Nathan: I just—just knowing that you have no control over your life at all. I mean, you can't do anything at all. Everything you take for granted, you know. It's all gone. I mean, you can't even go for a walk. If you want to go to the store and get a drink, you can't do it. And you see everybody out riding around. You see your friends out running around here and there, and they forget and say, "You want to go with us?" Like sure. [laughs]

Ansay: So are you saying that Community Control is no control in a sense?

Nathan: Ya. Total control by the probation officer.

Similarly, Hanna titled a chapter of her "book," "Somebody Has a Paper on Your Life." She elaborated on the contents as she would write it.

> They, they have their orders whether or not they can violate you, or send you back to jail, or continue you on house arrest, or whatever. You don't—they have papers on your life. You know that. You know that if you step out of line the least little bit—no matter what the circumstances—no matter if it was your fault or not your fault—that doesn't matter. They have, they have the final say in whatever happens.

The consequences of violation, and the sense of a life out of one's own control, hang heavily for most of the controllees with whom I spoke. This implementation of a rational approach to punishment is purposeful in accomplishing the goals of the criminal justice system and Community Control. However, from the perspective of almost all of the controllees who participated in this research, it constitutes the horizon against which "stress" is portrayed in their lives.

Based on these interviews, there is ample evidence that the ongoing experience of Community Control is stressful even for controllees who have the conventional underpinnings of family support. It is also evident that this "support" is not one uniformly defined, nor is it disconnected from the circumstances of stress in which controllees experience their confinement. In other words, stress is not just consistently *there* or *not there*. Instead, these narratives portray family life as a collaboratively organized configuration of sentiments and activities through which familial responsibility and identity are maintained and the mundane tasks of "doing family" are sustained (Garfinkel, 1967). In the context of daily life, these features of house arrest compete with the homogenized, "official," version of family that takes for granted the meaning of family support as something other adult members of the household, or relatives living

proximately, do *for* the controllee. The lived complexities of mutuality and reciprocity, rooted in roles and rituals and ongoing obligations despite current circumstances, are ignored in the official view.

CHAPTER 7
EVERYDAY TECHNOLOGIES OF TIME AND SPACE

The legislated intent of Community Control is discipline applied in the form of punishment. Control officers underscore that message by repeatedly invoking the standard: "If you can't do it in prison, don't ask to do it here." Yet, as controllees point out, there are performative differences in the application of the standard and in the material differences between family life on the outside and jail or prison time. Inmates pay no fees and have the basic needs of everyday life supplied by the State. As controllees, individuals on the outside pay monthly cost-of-service fees to the Department of Corrections, while continuing their economic responsibilities for food, shelter, clothing, and other family physical and emotional needs. In other words, locally constructed role expectations continue within the world of family even as an iron cage of disciplinary policy organizes the ways in which family activities produce compliance in domestic environs. In contrast to their portrayals of jail or prison incarceration as "easy time," controllees and other family members articulate the various dimensions of stress-filled lives that constitute Community Control as "hard, very hard" time. As we have seen, many controllees wonder aloud if the hardship price of Community Control is worth the emotional price they and other family members pay in their day-to-day lives.

Community Control is unique among programs of house arrest in its particular linkages of time and space, and its embeddedness in a discourse singularly defined as

punishment. This chapter examines the meaning of time and space more directly than earlier chapters. Having shown how compliance-work among controllees and family members is an on-going effort to construct a version of domestic life compatible with the punishment-oriented version of Community Control, the purpose of this chapter is to locate that punishment as a modality organizationally embedded in everyday place and time (Foucault, 1979, p. 170; see also Gubrium and Holstein, 1997). This ordinary location, along with the specific technologies of time and space through which it operates, undergirds the problematic linkage between families on house arrest and the criminal justice world .

Foucault uses the term "technology" to refer not only to the objectives, methods, and machinery of a control apparatus, but also to the *everyday* knowledge and skills for their production and use (see Holstein and Gubrium (2000) for similar usage). While technologies generally organize the efficiency of the punishment modality and implement the ubiquitous functioning of power that constitutes criminal justice, the specific technologies of time and space in the current case produce and maintain that power in its application (Foucault, 1979; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983). For purposes of explanation, therefore, let us look once again at the linkages, described visually and verbally, between the worlds of families and criminal justice.

Linking Families and Criminal Justice

There came a time during several interviews when controllees used specific statements to depict their circumstances as unique from the world I, and others, occupied outside the experience of Community Control. "It's frustratin', but I can't tell you what I

mean," one man said after telling why he needed to move away from his mother's home and be on his own again. "It's hard to understand what it's like if you have never been on house arrest," one woman said quietly after recounting her experiences of being a new mother dependent on family members outside the household her needs. "That's what I'm trying to tell you," another shouted at me when I repeated what he had said in a question for clarification. I resorted to paper and pencil at those times, offering controllees the opportunity to illustrate their meaning. What emerged from these times are visual models with accompanying verbal explanations, uniquely formed to capture the control encounter at a moment in time.

A Model of Coadaptive Worlds

Consider this example from Controllee David who responded to the sense of separation implied in my use of the terms "criminal justice" and "family."

> I can't separate the two [criminal justice and family] because I'm involved in it. I'm a part of it. [Elaborates] The only way it can be separate is if I'm not a part of it any more. Then I'm free. [Pause] I don't do anything at any point in time without knowing what I can or I can't do. [Elaborates] So I can't separate the system from my life. Not till I'm off probation. Then, at that point, then I can separate them again. Then it's like them, and me, and us. [Takes my pencil and paper.] This is as much separation as I can do. [Draws two overlapping circles. See Figure A below. These are copies of the actual drawing he made. I have altered the dates to protect his identity.] Me, and family. Family. I can't separate myself with my family outside of the circle. They are free. [Elaborates] I am part of the [criminal justice] system. I'm a part of my family system. Both of these areas control my life.

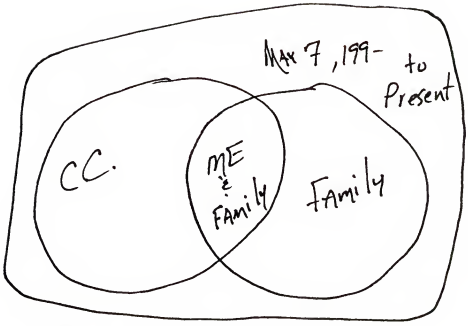

Figure 1: Overlapping worlds of family and criminal justice while on Community Control (CC).

Pointing alternately, first to the circle on the left which he has labeled "criminal justice," then to the "family" circle on the right, I ask: "This was here before you got on to Community Control, and this was here before you got on to Community Control?" He nods.

"Is this," I ask, pointing to the area of overlap, "a new creation?"

> Definitely. Prior to—this right here [the overlapping area] is as of May 7th, 199-, to present. Actually, we can put down until I'm off probation. Um. We'll put down May 7, 199- when I get off of house arrest. [He writes date.] At that point, I can separate myself more from this system, but not totally. Prior to May 7 [elaborates his life as a free person, and draws Figure 2, left below]. And [drawing again, Figure 2, right, below] this is what it's gonna be—Community Control, family, family— after May 7, 199-.

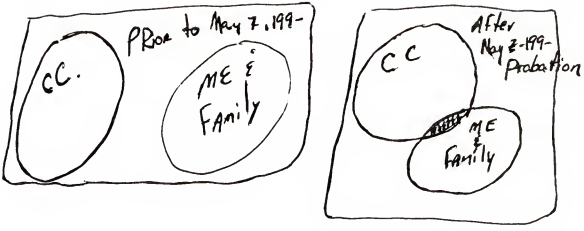

Figure 2: On the left, figure shows no overlap of the two systems prior to the conviction and sentence. The figure on the right shows the lessened area of overlap on probation following completion of Community Control.

> [Pointing to the overlap shown in Figure 2 on the right.] The reason there's a less area here than here is, after May of 199-, if I do my complete years of house arrest, I'm not on house arrest any more. All I'm on is probation. Which means I have to report in once a month for eight years, which I'll probably get reduced down to four if possible. I still have certain guidelines to follow [elaborates] but I do have more freedom. I don't have to do a weekly schedule.

The linkages between the time technology of criminal justice and the spatial world of family are prominent in the "ideal form" displayed in David's diagram. The meaning of controllee expands in this construction to include control by both worlds to which he senses he must adapt. The constraints of control are not one place or another, but are throughout the whole of the relationship, passing through the controllee at all points of the experience.

A Model of Disharmony

At the same time, the linkages between the domestic world and criminal justice do not always appear as benign as David's model. Even among those controllees and other family members who organized narratives of adaptation similar to David's, the horizon of resigned compatibility frequently shifts to a view of the experience emphasizing domestic disharmony and helplessness. These accounts by Controllee Frank and his mother exemplify the extent to which some families describe a life beyond their control.

"This is not a normal family life," Frank's mother told me, "because it's like you got somebody gazing over your shoulder all the time." Her son was one of two controllees whom I interviewed who wore an electronic monitoring device. Referring to the monitor, the mother added, "Because even though it's a machine, it's like *these people know* [italics indicate a "Big Brother" voice] exactly where he's at. It's like, it feels like I'm on it too, I mean—You know?"

"How are your drawing skills?" I asked Frank later when I interviewed him for the second time. He had just finished talking about his fear of being sent to prison, a place where he felt he did not belong. Wiping his tears, he laughed:

Frank: Drawing? I can't draw worth a shit.

Ansay: Can you draw a circle?

Frank: Yeh, I can make a circle.

Ansay: [We're both laughing.] Thinking about it all, what it's like? Can you show me what it's all about, what's going on, where people—

Frank: [Interrupts] I can show you me and mama. [He takes the pencil and jabs it twice against the paper.]

Ansay: Okay. And where's—

Frank: [Interrupts] If you want the jailhouse, the jailhouse ain't nothin'. I'll put a little ole circle over there. Probation [Community Control]? That's where it's all at. [He draws large circle.] Right there. Courtroom? [He draws the arc of a circle extending beyond the page.] There ain't room enough for it.

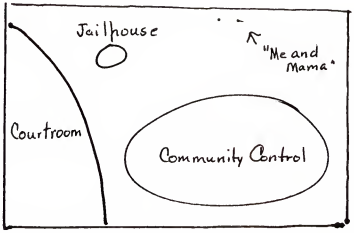

Figure 3: Frank's model reduced from 8 ½ x 11 to fit current page. I have framed it, traced the outlines, and added the labels for clarity.

Frank made it clear to me that the court and probation were placed side by side deliberately because, "they're all one." "And the family?" he repeated, pointing to the marks on the paper. "They're way up there." Isolated as they appear, the model portrays Frank and his mother as highly visible within the discursive framework of criminal justice.

Whether floating toward one or the other of the horizons articulated here as models, controllees and family members narratively construct the space of day-to-day

family life within the aura of a disciplinary gaze (Foucault, 1979). By all accounts, the problematic of day-to-day experiences of familial roles, interpersonal responsibilities, and stress are organized spacially and temporally within the gaze of criminal justice practices and policies.

The Disciplinary Value of Time

Arguably, a sentence to Community Control, or any other criminal sentence, is all about time. In a sense, time measures a particular amount of punishment to be served—years, months, even days used by the courts to extract a price for a criminal act, or to measure progress through the sentence as "gain time," thereby assigning a temporal value to time already served. But time as determined by the court is only one dimension of time-use for controllees. If we approach time as a temporal space in which activities are performed, time has practical value in producing punishment as well. Although its many dimensions are variously and fluidly interwoven, they are separated and alternately highlighted in the following discussion.

Reorganizing Temporal Benchmarks

A search for the meaning of "official time" marks accounts of life on Community Control as controllees apply various strategies to position their experience within a framework of allowable temporal options. Frequently, controllees nearing the end of their sentences say they have "too much to lose to mess up now." Those in the early days of their control articulate plans to "take one day at a time," those already through those first days will tell how "one day at a time" became a strategy for "making it." In the on-

going work of compliance, many controllees construct benchmarks of time left and time already served in their strategies to construct a life on Community Control as "doable."

Controllees, however, argue alternately that the usual benchmarks of official time are absent now. As they verbalize the absence of these markers, they construct an image of Community Control as a system of uncertainty and conflicting accountabilities. The following is an example of what I mean. A young man whose initial sentence was 18 months, is violated and jailed for several months awaiting trial, then put on an electronic monitor. His account of uncertainties follows:

> Man: From my understand [sic] when I went in front of the judge, he said six months. And, um, she [his officer] sayin' I won't get off till August. I think that's when she said I get off. August. And that's over 18 months.
>
> Ansay: Is there anything like gain time?
>
> Man: No. No. Well, there's a bunch of people I talk to that they, they've—Well, I reckon if they do good they'd let 'em off with like half. 'Cause my officer—When I first got on it, I said, "If I do good, you know, I'm not going to have to do the whole 18 months." And she said, "No, we'll cut it in half. You'll be off in nine months." It hasn't happened for me yet.

More dramatic, what seemed to me a simple question produced an outburst from Controllee Orchel. "I don't really *know*," he said angrily. He provided an account of his previous time on work release and a serious accident requiring hospitalization after which he was given Community Control. He is unsure of receiving credit for the jail time or the period of hospitalization. "Even the judges don't know," he told me.

The system—a nebulous, yet ominous whole—is frequently assigned responsibility for the uncertain value of time already served, but controllees also view

their time left on control as unpredictable. "Like I think I have eight months to go," Controllee Emory told me. "I can get to my ninth month—no, my seventh month—and get violated. Then I'd have to go back and do all that 18 months. . . ."

Thus, while the time served has singular, or official, value in the production of eventual freedom, the time left is often uncertain, depending upon the particular benchmark against which it is measured. This ambiguity is a contrast to the way in which official time-as-schedule is produced as a practical disciplinary device in the day-to-day experience of Community Control.

Rituals of Family Time

In families, time governs not only the productive relationships (Daly, 1996; Hochschild, 1997) but also marks the sense of unity that produces "family" itself. Time, in other words, has no universal experiential reckoning, but in everyday life is figured in circumstantial terms. When family members tell stories of their lives, events such as the birthdays and holiday celebrations that bring members together ceremonially constitute a hyphenated version of family—the image of the-family-that-we-are—and mark the relational boundaries that separate *this* family from a perceived outside world. Family rituals operate in this temporal framework, not an official one. For families whose daily schedules are officially sanctioned, the ritual patterns that constitute "family" are ignored, even challenged. While member participation in the event may be approved on the schedule, that approval is decided by a control officer acting as arbiter of a family life extending beyond the physical boundaries of home to the core value of "family" itself. Moreover, as a scheduled entity, the event is ascribed an objective, chronological, and

measureable time-value consistent with the world of criminal justice. In doing so, its subjective meaning for family members—which rests on a different metric—is discounted. The most common refrain in this regard among controllees and family members alike is that officers don't understand the importance of these times. We see in the following examples how members construct domesticity around rituals of family time.

When I interviewed Controllee Iris, she had been out of jail only a few days following a violation for a failed drug test, a charge which she has protested vehemently. In this excerpt, she uses family rationale strategically to portray the "unreasonableness" of her officer and the system. As she talks about Christmas among family, a theme she repeatedly invokes, she constructs an image of her family as one her officer and "the system" fail to understand. Her definition of unreasonable—the difference between the relational value and the time-value of family—emerges as she begins her account.

> Iris: I mean, they'll give me six hours to go Christmas shopping, but only give me three to four hours to eat Christmas dinner with my family. Does that make any sense? You know? And when I'm getting with the whole family? They're only going to give me four hours? To enjoy the family Christmas and eat Christmas dinner? And it take you thirty minutes to get to—or twenty—or twenty-five minutes just to get where I'm going. And they're going to give me six hours to go from here to Coast City [the shopping trip] where they don't know what I'm doing, not even with my family. They're going to give me six hours to do that? It don't make no sense [laughs].

Ansay: So then you were at your brother's?

> Iris: No, at my uncle's. But the whole family—I mean, I rode up with my brother. I mean, my mother. Like I say, I don't go nowhere unless my mother takes me.

Ansay: So she had to come back early too?

Iris: No, I rode back with my cousin. No, with my aunt because my cousin had left before that. So my aunt gave me a ride back. Then my mother came up not, say like five minutes after I did. 'Cause she felt bad because I couldn't stay and enjoy the evening. She come on home too. They felt bad, you know. They couldn't enjoy theirselves.

Iris's aunt comes in and joins the conversation at that point. After informing her that the conversation was being taped and asking her to sign a consent agreement, I told her we were discussing what it's like to be on Community Control. She immediately begins speaking about how Iris's duties as a mother create difficulties for other members, like herself and Iris's mother, upon whom Iris depends for transportation. Pointing out the window, she shows me where she lives just down the street, then mentions the uncle who lives in another town where they all went for Christmas. Iris uses this opportunity to shift the conversation back to the particular instance of the problematic she had been recounting when her aunt entered.

Iris: [Turning to her aunt] Matter of fact, Christmas they gave me four hours to go eat dinner with the family, then give me six hours the day before to go Christmas shopping.

Aunt: [Exact words unclear because she is laughing.] They don't know our family.

Iris: Yup.

Aunt: I mean, when our family gets together—Well, this time it was gettin' together at our brother's house. Well, he don't live just across the railroad tracks. But when our family gets together, they stay together all day long. So that evening, nobody's here at suppertime.

Iris: If I was—

Aunt: [Interrupts] Everybody's got to eat supper together.

Iris: Right.

Aunt: You can't take—I mean, four hours there. I mean, if the stuffing's done and they say you can go from nine to twelve—Well, our bunch usually don't get to eat till around one or two.

Iris: One or two. [Laughs as Grandmother adds something inaudible on tape.]

Aunt: And like I say, you can't involve [sic] everything just around her and these things at—They've got the big grand [piano]. They've got the big house too, you know, so it's more convenient to that—

Iris: And like my mother, she stopped by 'cause I wasn't able to. She felt like she had to come home too. You know, it's just things like that that's—it's aggravatin' if anything. It's like the kids. I can't do anything with them on holidays or Christmas.

The grand piano, the big house, the big family—together they stand as a metaphor of size to construct a family that cannot "reasonably" be held within the temporal and spacial boundaries contained, measured, enforced, and indeed, constructed as officially scheduled.

Time as a Ritual of Control

Of all the regulations that apply under Community Control, most controllees and family members view scheduling as the most punitive and the most difficult change they have had to make in their everyday lives. In practice, scheduling interfaces with both supervision and surveillance policies to produce a mechanism for controlling the daily activities of family life. Its power to control is produced locally through the various rituals that produce the schedule itself. Take, for example, the induction of new controllees into the scheduling ritual.

The production of control through scheduling begins almost immediately following sentencing when new controllees, reporting for mandatory orientation, are warned that they must "document every inch of what [they] do" and have it pre-approved by their officers. The following notes from an orientation meeting demonstrate the interface as a collaborative effort between a new controllee, his wife, and the control officer.

Officer: You need to look at it as if you're at Florida State Prison.

Controllee: We talked about that.

Officer: I'm just making sure. Your social life is out. You need to know that now. Afterward, people come to me and want to go to weddings and funerals. Then they get all mad at me.

Controllee: [Looking at his wife] That answers our question.

As the orientation session continued, the officer repeatedly emphasized the importance of following any times required or approved by the officer exactly. "We live about 45 minutes from the office," the controllee said. Leaning forward nervously, he added, "We'll try a different route home. That might not be as long. We're going to time it." Noting that he and his wife were separated, he added, "But it's her vehicle. I have to depend on her."

The officer reminded him about the emergency number that is available 24 hours a day. Referring to an earlier question the man had asked, the officer said, "That's the number you use for that. You call it immediately, as soon as you know you're going to be late, because, if I get to your place before you do and you haven't called in, that's it."

Having completed the orientation, the officer handed the man a weekly schedule form. As he took the form, the man said:

> Right now, I have only three necessities—a drivers license, an appointment for blood work for my cancer, a haircut, shopping, and a hearing aid. But I have another question. Like when I told you I got to go somewhere—like I got to go to the doctor. How much leeway do I have?
>
> Officer: For that I'd give you about a half an hour maybe.
>
> Controllee: What about shopping?
>
> Officer: Same thing.
>
> Controllee: I just wanted to ask. Now's the time to ask. I don't want to get in trouble. [Pause] Do I put the time of the appointment or the time I leave.
>
> Officer: You need to put the time you leave and the time you return.

After writing, he gave the schedule to the officer who noticed that he had written the times in the wrong cells on the form. He had started from the left side of the paper. "So change today to Monday," the officer said, showing him where to write it.

"All we're going to do today is go shopping," the man said, but he still didn't know where to write it.

The officer took the paper, looked at the clock, and said, "Okay. It's twelve o'clock. How much time do you need for shopping? An hour?"

The man look over to his wife and said, "Oh, it shouldn't take that long."

"Okay," the officer said. "Can you be home by two?"

"Oh, ya." he replied.

Like other controllees, this man will be back at the control office weekly on reporting day to produce an officially acceptable schedule for the following week. At

these meetings, controllees who ask to attend parent/teacher conferences, a child's birthday party, a sister's wedding, or holiday celebrations are reminded again that "if you can't do it in prison, don't expect to do it here." Technically, no requests need be accommodated. Using discretionary authority, however, an officer may approve one or the other of the requests, in which case the approval itself legitimates the officers authority over the controllee's use of time. Thus, while producing a mechanism to facilitate supervision, the schedule also generates an immediate value of time as a resource to be used by the criminal justice system in reproducing its authority locally.

We see, then, that time is a commodity of exchange in the criminal justice economy of accountability. Within the criminal justice world of daily life, time is purposively produced as schedule, paid as punishment, and invested toward future freedom. The control imposed by this value organization is not just on controllees but also on families when a member is sentenced to Community Control. Just how is this temporal extension to family produced?

Time is formulated and made visible on the weekly schedule sheets where cell blocks interface days of the week with the activities labeled shopping, laundry, church attendance, and employment. These categories of activities are generally considered needs of controllees as individuals, not necessarily as family members. They are available to all controllees equally, whether or not they share domestic space or familial responsibilities. All share similarly in the single, daily block available for "other" activities that can be categorized more generally as "family" or "social life." While the ideal controllee is expected to conform within this format, the ideal family is formulated

within this version as well. The local meaning of such family rituals as attending weddings and funerals, celebrating birthdays, enjoying the holidays, or caring for elders are necessarily discounted, devalued, and even penalized. Instead, their meaning is established within the temporal framework of the criminal justice accountability.

Spacial Technologies and Surveillance Strategies

It is the interactive component of space that facilitates the particular application of discipline as punishment to enter the domestic world of families as surveillance. Temporal control dominates space and links offenders to the criminal justice system. Space, on the other hand, provides the particular site in which the linkage becomes visible as an experience of that surveillance. Whether labeled home confinement or house arrest, the work of intensive supervision is performed within boundaries that typically constitute family space. Thus, the surveillance strategies applied within the boundaries of family time and space, link not only controllees but also other family members to the particular discipline of Community Control and extend the virtual boundaries of house arrest to these members as well.

While state statutes extend the boundaries of criminal justice into domestic space, monitoring policies open the doors of controllees' homes to facilitate the production of criminal justice accountability therein. It is not only the legal right but also the readily acknowledged responsibility of the control officers to literally walk in.

Routine Surveillance

Time organizes space for surveillance. Surveillance, therefore, is the practical application of the technologies of space and time. Like the use of schedules to codify

time and produce its value, surveillance is used strategically to embed the particular spaces visible through its lens with the disciplinary meaning that legitimates it. Its purpose, in other words, is to control. In the day-to-day work of monitoring clients, surveillance is characterized by the routine monitoring of controllees, particularly through face-to-face "home contacts." On several occasions, I accompanied officers in the field to observe their monitoring routine first-hand.

Officer Cox had fourteen stops planned for the night I accompanied him on his home contact rounds. His district is rural and involves driving long distances between clients, so, as usual, he planned a route for efficiency of time and miles. The farthest destination that evening was at the outskirts of a small town about 40 miles from the control office.

It was about 5:30 p.m. when we left the office. Because it was reporting day, Mr. Cox had been at the office all day. Despite the full day, however, he said he liked to make field calls on reporting day because controllees might not be expecting him. Like other officers with whom I spoke, Mr. Cox believes the element of unpredictability is necessary to "keep controllees on their toes." He laughed as he told of a time when he had used a CB radio to keep his supervisor apprized of his location in the field, only to learn that several controllees, their friends, or family members were monitoring the radio and reporting his whereabouts to others. In that case, he acknowledged, "they had the advantage over me."

After stopping at a drive-through for coffee, we continued to the edge of town for our first call. Mr. Cox opened a folder in which he kept the controllees' schedules,

verified that the man should be home, honked the horn several times, then suggested we wait in the vehicle until he was certain the dog had been secured. Almost immediately the front door opened, the dog stopped barking, and we approached the door. Mr. Cox greeted the controllee and his wife, and introduced me as a student from the University who was riding along for the night. Mr. Cox asked the controllee how things were going. The man said he had been using his time at home to get some remodeling done. "I gotta show you this," he said, taking Mr. Cox into the dining room. He had completed laying a new floor in the room and wanted the officer's opinion about keeping the hutch where it was or getting rid of it. Mr. Cox complimented the work, then, laughing, suggested that they keep the hutch until they figured out where to put the dishes that were in it. As we left, Mr. Cox told the woman she had "a lot to put up with on all these projects." She laughed and agreed. As we left, they followed us out the front door and watched until we were back in the truck.

Before leaving the yard, Mr. Cox recorded the date and time of the visit. Under "collateral" he noted the presence of the man's wife. "It would sure be easier if we had computers," he told me. "I have to transfer all this stuff to the computer at the office tomorrow."

No one was home at the next stop. Mr. Cox checked the book to see if the man's schedule allowed him to be away from home at that time. It didn't. "That's a violation," he said noting it in on a form. In another home we found a group of five or six men eating and watching TV. Only one spoke, informing Mr. Cox that the controllee had gone to counseling. The officer checked his book to verify the story, then said he had

forgotten it. As we left, he called back to the men, "Tell [name] I'm glad he went to counseling." Back in the truck he added that the man had not been attending counseling as regularly as he should. "One more miss and I'll have to violate him," he said.

It was raining heavily that night making the long drive between calls seem longer than it was. Some of the homes were down dirt roads muddied by the rain, their yards a series of puddles. "That's why I drive a truck," Mr. Cox said when I commented on the conditions.

At several homes, Mr. Cox honked the horn, then waited until the controllee came to the door and waved. "They know the routine," he said. "I have to see them."

"What if they don't hear you," I asked.

"I always do it a couple times and wait a minute. They'll hear it if they're there," he replied.

Although controllees were already in bed for the night, they would have to come out to see their officer face to face. That happened several times toward the end of the evening. One man appeared in his pajamas looking still asleep. He reminded Mr. Cox that he had to leave at one-thirty the next morning for an approved work day two hundred miles further downstate. "Oh, that's right," Mr. Cox replied. "That's pretty early. You better go back to sleep." None of these people acted upset about being awakened. Most chatted easily with the officer, sometimes about parents or other relatives who were known to Mr. Cox. As a native of the area, he had known many of the controllees and their families for a long time. He asked about parents and grandparents, jobs and job searches, issued reminders not to have alcohol around the house, and, in one case, asked

how the man and his girlfriend were getting along. He reminded the man that "any problems and you'll be spending a lot of time away from her." "You make sure he stays out of trouble," he told a woman in another home. Wherever we went, Mr. Cox was polite and friendly, purposefully keeping the visit to no more than five minutes because "it's a long night ahead." His tone was always the same; a low voice, interested and sincere, but not too close. As we drove, he talked about his manner and how he viewed his clients: "You got to be fair with people. Even the ones who you don't think will make it. They'll mess themselves up. You don't have to do it."

This night ended back at the control office around eleven o'clock. "Not too bad," Mr. Cox said as I left. "I just have to remember to write up that violation report and check out that counseling in the morning."

The Organizational Voice

Other officers follow similar monitoring routines. Typically, they vary the times and days of the week for making contact calls to avoid a predictable pattern. "I make three home contact calls a week," an officer told me. "They know that, but they don't know when my week starts." She says she may be there two days in a row, or maybe not for three or four days. Besides varying the pattern of contact calls, officers also practice surveillance by parking on an adjacent street or down a rural road to watch when they suspect a controllee is sneaking out, or "doubling back" for a second call on the same day. "They know we'll be there," an officer told me. "They just don't know when."

Officers also vary strategies according to how well they know their client. Although getting a wave from the front door is enough with some whom they trust, there

are others whose homes or person may hold evidence of alcohol or other drug use, violence between partners, or there may be weapons that have not been removed. "I will check the refrigerator if I smell beer on him," an officer said. Yet officers note concerns for their own safety in some homes and frequently refer to a recent case in an adjacent county where an officer was shot by a controllee as he approached the house. When they suspect trouble ahead, they will have a partner or law enforcement officer come to the home with them. Having both a backup officer and police officers is standard practice when arrests are to be made in the home.

According to the officers, the purpose of monitoring, whether through electronic devices or home visits, is the same — "I check. They have to be there. The rules are simple. They follow 'em, or they're violated." Embedded as it is in the mandates of Community Control and the discourse of criminal justice, the exercise of legal authority is articulated by officers in the identification of controllees as either "in compliance" or "in violation." In short, officers "think" in terms of the organization and act appropriately on the experience of the oppositional (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997). In a sense, therefore, they are the technicians who operate the social technologies of space and time at the local level.

Surveillance as Simulated Observation

Controllee accounts of the monitoring experience vary greatly with the circumstances of their lives and the personality of their officer. Some officers, like Mr. Cox, will sound the horn, then wait and sound it again before leaving. Others will wait at the door, then knock another time if no one responds. Still others appear less

accommodating. Controllee Frank claims to have been violated while talking to a neighbor in the back yard. He constructs his officer as one who has severely limited the physical parameters of confinement and does not wait an appropriate length of time for a response when he calls. Frank builds a case to discredit his officer's decision to violate him:

> 'Cause my first, my first, ah, probation officer, she told me that—when we were standing around here—any place on this property I can go. That consists in rentin'. [The building consists of four rental units on a single lot.] You know, like the back yard. Back there. I can go back there. [Tells about a friend of his mother who lives in back. She'd prepare his meal when mother was at work and hand it over the fence to him. He'd eat it there while talking to her.] When I got switched to [the new officer] they was times when I'd be layin' on the sofa right here and this guy—[Frank raps 3 times on the coffee table] three times on the door and by the time I'd get up and open the door he'd be gettin' in his truck leavin'. He wouldn't even give me a chance. And then, if I was around back, you know, he'd mark me down as not home.

Most controllees, even those who construct an image of a "good officer," are apprehensive about not hearing the officer's horn or the knock on the door. The unpredictability of the monitoring, rather than its frequency, conditions much fear. Take Hanna, for instance. "How often does he check?" I ask Hanna.

> Hanna: A couple times a week. Sometimes—there have been times he's come three days in a row. There's— at least a couple times a week.
>
> Ansay: So you never know.
>
> Hanna: No. He's come by a twelve o'clock at night, and he has come by at a quarter to seven in the morning. He has come by at five o'clock in the afternoon, nine o'clock at night. I never know.
>
> Ansay: How do you feel about that?

> Hanna: [Sighs.] Well, I know he's coming, you know, so—It bothers me more when he doesn't come by. [We laugh.] Really it does, because one week he didn't come by for a week and I was on pins and needles. I was like I couldn't rest 'cause I'm like: "Why hasn't he been by?" I mean, I'd rather he'd come by. It wouldn't bother me if he'd come by every day a week, or if he'd come by 3 times a day. But I'd just rather he come by than not come by. You know? I know that sounds strange, but (pauses) but that one week I was steady lookin' out the door. I couldn't sleep 'cause I was afraid he might come up and I'd not hear him, 'cause I know one morning he came by, and I sleep in the back, and I had the fan on and the radio on, and he was knocking on the door, and he wasn't knocking that loud, and I didn't hear him. But I just happened to look up, and he was outside and he was walkin' back to his truck, and I'm like, I flew to the door. My hair all over which way. I looked rough, I know. I stuck my head out the door. He said, "Oh, you're not working?" I said, "No, sir. You didn't tell me I could work today and I didn't go." And I just thought, now what if I hadn't of, you know, got to the door and let him know that I was, you know, in there asleep. Ohhhhoo. Huh-uh. Nope. I told him, "You're going to have to knock louder than that 'cause I have the fan on, the radio on, and jeeeezz.

There are numerous stories about times when the officer's call was almost missed. Controllee David now tapes a note on the front door when he's in the shower, and has asked his officer to please come to the door if no one answers when he sounds the horn. Spouses, significant others, and even children know the urgency of informing the controllee when the officer drives in. Orchel encourages his young son to announce the officer's arrival by saying he's "a good friend who likes to stop by and say hello." But, like Hanna, they all appear to worry constantly about "what if," and in that worry lies the unique kind of stress that encompasses their lives and that of other family members. And so, summing up what is a common refrain among controllees, Ralph cries: "That's the

stress. The whole program is stress. That's the prison. The stress is the prison. I don't have —I don't have bars on the outside. I have bars in my head."

Intersecting Strategies of Time and Space

While scheduling produces predictable space that facilitates the individual monitoring of controllees, the practical experience of monitored space is conditioned by the deliberate strategy of its unpredictability. The genius of Community Control is that it enters the social space of the families through the technologies that not only organize the time and space of domestic life, but enlist the complicity of family members in doing so. Although officers collect the fees, approve the schedules, visit the homes, and document "subject" and "collateral" contacts to legitimate any claims of violations, members actively use the temporal and spacial technologies to produce their own compliance in their daily lives. When the schedule ruptures family rituals and daily routines, family members search for consistency and order, a sense of normalcy— something that works and makes sense *for them*. They use the new technology along with local meanings and strategies that have been available for them in the past. Even as they may struggle against this power, they "rely on the hold it exerts on them" ([Foucault, 1977]cited in DeLeuze, 1988, p. 28). In doing so, they turn surveillance back on themselves and each other and produce a form of punishment that is uniquely CommunityControl. Using Foucault's metaphor, it is a new Panopticon.

CHAPTER 8
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

"When he got sentenced to 18 months,
His mom got sentenced to 18 months,
His son got sentenced to 18 months, and so did I."

It's difficult to forget the sense of sadness surrounding Controllee Emory's girlfriend as she summed up what life has been like for the family during the past year, yet her troubles are not news to practitioners like the control officers in the field of corrections. Community Control is hard, they will tell you, and many offenders will fail to complete the term of their sentence successfully. Nor is it news to defense attorneys, particularly the public defenders, who regularly warn their clients about the rigors of the program and suggest plea bargaining for a prison or jail time instead of Community Control. Parents of offenders, warned by the grapevine that loosely unites members caught in the web of the justice system, are wont to accept the additional stresses and responsibilities life on control requires of them. And friends who have had the experience advise straight out: "Man, just take the time." Still, as we have seen, many offenders choose hardship over absence because it is consistent with what they know about families—that, as Iris's mother put it, "when bad go down we are there for each other," and as Nathan said, "I'm their Dad. I need to be there for my kids."

For families on Community Control, that kind of day-to-day support is a balancing act in which members continuously perform locally meaningful rituals of *being*

there for each other while literally being *there* in the specific places and times demanded by their approved schedules. The official version of Community Control constitutes a politics of accountability concretized in the procedures and policies through which controllees' lives are scrutinized through documentation and objectified as cases. Through consistent application of the written rules and guidelines of the criminal justice system, officers and supervisors produce the clients they need to do the work at hand. This work is deliberately punitive, and "hardness" exemplifies the ideal of officers doing their jobs. Its effect on domestic life is not their official concern.

The Competing Worlds of Compliance

"Compliance" is a word not much used in the rhetoric of criminal justice. More often one hears the word "violation" as officers talk about their work both in the office and in the field. Controllees are admonished that, if they can't make full payments, they should pay at least a part of their service fees regularly to avoid violation. They are warned to adhere strictly to the scheduled events of reporting day, employment, shopping, and other behavioral tasks or "they will be violated." Counseling services for substance abuse or anger management are treated as punitive events of scheduling at which their attendance can be monitored and non-attendance "will get you violated" and, subsequently, arrested. "I will violate you," an officers may tell his clients, even as controllees and family members justify his disciplinary role and excuse seemingly untoward behavior by saying of all officers, "They're only doing their job."

Set in relation to the official version, we see controllees and other family members construct the lived experience of compliance against the specter of violation.

Compliance is articulated as a collaborative process of family members striving for order in lives dis-ordered by the imposition of criminal justice rules. As language shapes the way in which family is experienced, the "rules" of domestic order that underlie the narrative accounts of what constitutes family support frequently contradict the official version of what it means to comply with the system. As a social construction, therefore, compliance is formed in the stories members tell us as they attempt to reconcile the competing worlds of family and criminal justice, and it is concretized through their talk about the troubles of everyday life. Although it is socially constructed in the narratives, the practical reality of compliance as we have seen, is accomplished by members talking about what it *really* means to be there for each other.

Descriptive Accounting

These contrasting versions of compliance—one embedded in the use-value of its measurable opposite, the other steeped in the rituals of intimate social processes—are the conditions of institutionalization to which the control process orients. Emphasizing the components of salience and routine in his use of the term institutionalization, James Holstein (1993) describes similar orientations in his study of involuntary commitment hearings for mentally ill clients. Accordingly, he makes the following claim, one that is also relevant to the current discussion:

> Three distinct but interrelated matters organize and channel commitment arguments, providing an interpretive grid to which participants hold one another's claims accountable. To be viable, arguments must display an orientation to and appreciation for each of the following: (1) local interpretations of mental health and illness, (2) cultural images, icons, and normal forms, and (3) compassion, care, and custody for those in need.

> Arguments failing to address any of the concerns invite challenges to their medical, legal, and/or moral worthiness. (p. 177)

Clearly, criminal justice and family versions of compliance do not produce a "viable" interpretive system as they are currently applied and, thus, the social problematic for families lies in reconciling two distinct, competing, interpretive worlds. Informed by the practical reasoning of everyday life, the "descriptive accountings" of compliance produced by officers and family members in these worlds are most often characterized as relationships under stress or duress (Heritage, 1984, p. 141). Although the particular form of stress is conditioned by the circumstances of everyday life, it is located in the search for "cultural images, icons, and normal forms" and the expectations surrounding locally meaningful roles of "compassion, care, and custody for those in need" (Holstein, 1993, p. 177). These are most commonly indexed to family.

Families as Accountability Structures

Despite the reliance on measurable actions in relation to policy as the sole test of compliance, the everyday world of officers and supervisors requires rule-work that is situationally operative as a practical matter. Although seemingly arbitrary and therefore appearing to play continually on the differences within situations (Denzin, 1990) the decisions made by officers in the field presume certain rule-like qualities that inform an official version of family support. What is it then that these nebulous "rules" mean when applied to families as family support? And how do they compare to the meanings of family support portrayed by controllees and other family members? Or, to use

Garfinkel's (Heritage, 1984) question: "When a person seems to be following rules, what is it that that seems to consist of?" (p. 125).

The family version of "being there," incites action among members, and, in that context, invokes accounts of troubles with juridically imposed schedules and boundaries as evidence of members' embeddedness in both worlds. "Being there" organizes the gaze of criminal justice in competition with the locally valued ways of doing private life; that is, it challenges the efforts of members practicing the rule-like interactions that inject meaning into mutual sharing, relaxing, loving, crying, caring, as well as "doing-for" each other. Further, "being there" elicits images of members, controllees and other family members alike, straddling two competing worlds and being held accountable in both. Recall how controllees depict prison life as "easy time" free from the pulls and pressures of family living. Recall Controllee Ralph's metaphor of the vice in his head squeezing ever more tightly, and his cry of pain: "The stress is the prison. I don't have, I don't have bars outside—physical bars. I have bars in my head." Thus, like the narratives they tell, their imprisonment is located at the borders of social—familial—accountability.

When control officers and supervisors talk about family support they typically include accounts of mothers or grandmothers who provide transportation for the controllee, spouses or significant others who insist that controllees abide by the restrictions of the sentence, or parents who surround the controllee in the household with the material components of leisure pastimes (i.e. computers, VCRs) to "keep them home." An alternate version is applied to those situations in which the member on Community Control is the primary caregiver of small children. In these cases, it is

inseparable from the individual's role responsibility for physical care and economic support of the minor children in the household. Conversely, some families are described as "just as bad" as the controllee, who is assumed lacking in social responsibility and, therefore, of "no help at all." Contextualized in relation to the need for additional resources, family support is taken for granted to mean aid given *to* the controllee in fulfilling criminal justice obligations.

The use of the physical boundaries of household rather than the emotional boundary of the parent-child relationship is problematic from a policy standpoint in which officers repeatedly emphasize that the system does not punish families. Take for example, the children of non-custodial parents. Besides living in a separate household, their visits may be regulated by another arm of the judiciary as part of a dissolution agreement or, perhaps, through another bureaucratic system such as foster care. Moreover, the children may live outside the county, and therefore, outside of the parameters allowed to controllees by state statute. Similarly problematic are controllees' relationships of responsibility to aging or ill parents and adult siblings or relatives outside the household. Even under these circumstances, officers share the expectation that family member assistance either inside or outside the home is a resource available to controllees for the asking, or, alternately and perhaps more importantly, that such assistance *should* be part of a normal family situation (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997). Thus, although most officers and supervisors articulate an understanding of the difficulties controllees face, these are typically constructed as "personal problems" or "family troubles" and secondary

to the task of supervision. This brings us to the third point in Holstein's tripartite organization of a viable accountability structure.

Domestic Embeddedness and Deprivatization

Holstein (1993) quotes Weber's observation that the more formal rationality becomes bureaucratized, "the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements (p. 183). Yet, "compassion, care, and custody for those in need" demonstrate the local rationality that informs the rituals of daily family life, and these qualities are deeply embedded in the members' construction of moral accountability to each other. It is not surprising, then, that family members include in their everyday troubles a description of how criminal justice permeates the social and temporal space in which these rituals of intimacy are enacted.

The collaborative processes of scheduling and monitoring keep compliance at the forefront of interactions between officers, controllees, and other family members. Both the schedule and the monitor are operative twenty-four hours a day, and together they provide a physical as well as narrative presence in an otherwise private domestic space. Phone conversations are interrupted by electronic monitoring devices. A glass of wine with a family meal is a foregone pleasure. Sleep, and perhaps intimate sex, is interrupted by the officer's late-night or early morning arrival. A morning shower is hurried rather than risk a missed knock on the door. It's not normal, members say, and it's lonely, humiliating, "a pain in the butt." But overall, it is stressful, with that stress emerging through an imposed order that lacks "compassion, care, and custody of those in need."

Family, under the circumstances of Community Control, is embedded in a system with neither heart nor soul.

The view of family support as ascribed by universalized member roles deprivatizes domestic space and depoliticizes the social conditions that member narratives bring to the forefront. In so doing, it neutralizes the practical struggles of members to reorder their lives and produces a single legitimate form of family support. By taking for granted the unidirectionality of family as a support system and assigning "it" a reality fixed within accomplished tasks, the official version renders invisible the social processes that produce compliance as an everyday accomplishment. Instead, it supports an interactional world conditioned by stress and fear. This is the form necessary for the operation of home confinement as a punishment modality.

Toward a New Model of Social Control

Rather than being a criticism of officers and supervisors in their roles, the seemingly harsh summary statement above brings the problematic of competing worlds into focus so that the oft-stated differences between punitive and rehabilitative modalities of criminal sentences in relation to families can be addressed as a sociological concern. Indeed, some practitioners and scholars, pointing to family support as the sole statistically significant identifier of Community Control success, have urged greater emphasis on families in reforming the program. Criminologists Blomberg, Bales, and Reed (1993), for example, cite subjective evidence similar to that which emerged during the interviews: (1) that controllees believe the program has been detrimental to their families, and (2) that they and their families were not well-prepared for the experience.

The authors point to the program's current lack of success and, hence, the urgency of finding new ways to accomplish its original goals. Importantly, however, they include a caveat:

> We must stop thinking that governmental actions represent functional responses to family problems, tending to control them. Recent empirical evidence leads us to see that governmental efforts may serve to create and sustain some kinds of problems, and specifically in the case of official interventions into family life, they may make problems worse for the individuals involved. This realization produces a new circumspection and caution about the role of governmental action in resolving family problems. (Johnson, 1986; quoted in Blomberg, Bales, and Reed, 1993, p. 195)

Current Trends in Program Reform

Program reform is also the focus of criminologists Linda Smith and Ronald Akers (1993) who offer the following suggestion as exemplary of a scholarly trend:

> A more effective home confinement program may require that elements of rehabilitation and treatment specifically be added as an additional goal of the program. That is, a more persuasive model might move back in the direction of community reintegration and propose that occupational skill enhancement, education, substance abuse treatment, behavior modification, and other practices be added tot he principle of closely supervised home confinement. (p. 288)

However, this model, which the authors call "continued integration," nonetheless continues to link program success to recidivism rates, and offender integration to certain behavioral changes in the individual. Like the punishment model, the continued integration model ignores existing relationships and responsibilities among controllees as family members. Its integration is managed around system-defined and system-defined roles.

Punishment or Rehabilitation?

When viewed in the context of competing worlds, the comparisons between seemingly distinct modalities of punishment and rehabilitation emerge as a construction of the practices through which the models are applied and their similarities emerge. For elaboration on this point, let us look first at an example of the quintessential model of rehabilitation philosophy—family counseling.

Gubrium's (1992) recent ethnographic study of two treatment facilities for families identified as "troubled" shows how distinct therapeutic regimens construct differences in the "reality work" that makes the therapeutic settings. In one facility, problems of youth are linked to conditions of the home and articulated as pressures of contemporary living. Accordingly, families need professional help to absorb social changes in their lives in order to function under stress. In the contrasting facility, adolescent problems are individualized and analyzed behaviorally. Family members are treated as necessary support functionaries within the treatment process. In both of these rehabilitative contexts, practitioners operate on the presumption that families are specific entities that have broken and need to be repaired.

As Gubrium shows, the rehabilitative, or treatment, model is primarily concerned with family disorder. The punishment model, operating in its ideal form, is not. Instead, we have seen, the official version of Community Control, when following a purely punitive model, is a behavioral event of accountability to procedures and policies in which the individual lives of controllees can be viewed objectively outside of their circumstances. In other words, the particular ordering within families is irrelevant to the

conditions of official control. Community Control is a one-rule system in which success is measured unidimensionally in relation to individual behavior in place and time. Of necessity, the monitoring of daily life practices in relation to scheduling, fee payments, and other restrictions of Community Control is exclusive of the culturally oriented rules that locally link members together in the family world. Instead, officers and supervisors produce rules that constitute consistency and fairness in relation to policy, while creating routines that monitor compliance as a singular event of space and time.

Although theoretically different, the separation between punishment and treatment modalities breaks down in practice. Jacques Donzelot (1979) makes a similar point. Camparing the various dimensions of criminological knowledge to a "nest of Russian dolls," he says:

> . . . there is an initial model, the judicial one, of which all others are only enveloping copies. The substitution of the educative [or rehabilitative] for the judical can also be interpreted as an extension of the judicial, a refinement of its methods, an endless ramification of its powers. (p. 98)

There is little distinction between the two modalities as officers in the field make decisions on where and when to monitor their clients, how much time to allow for activities, or on what "other" events to approve on controllees' schedule. It is in this discretionary space where a systematized ideology of family frames the decisions in either type of program, where the particular construction of family support comes into play. Informed by an official version, the punishment and rehabilitative models merge, and, decision-making becomes arbitrary as officers apply the meaning of what a family *should* be under the circumstances of house arrest.

Thus, in a rhetoric similar to that used in the rehabilitation model, the metaphor of family support emphasized in the punitive model elicits a negative image, that of a structural device strategically positioned to stabilize an otherwise precarious objective form—a family for purposes of control.

Criticism of Reform Politics

The current emphasis of reform politics continues the official discourse as it applies a universal standard of what is legitimately "family" by centering on the goals of criminal justice. Arguably, this standardized brand of family constitutes a "sincere fiction" shared by policy-makers, practitioners, as well as by other reform-minded experts and scholars. By "sincere fiction" I mean more than the benign image of "collective representation" used by Durkheim (1995) to express collective realities. I apply the term in a sense similar to that of its creator, Pierre Bourdieu (1977) who uses it to describe collective understandings that obscure inequities by presenting relationships as form rather than process. The taken-for-grantedness of family and family support constitute sincere fictions within the rhetoric of reform politics. What exactly does that mean for the present argument?

In the present relationship between families and Community Control, the legitimation of a single form of integrated family within an official world of meaning disguises the power of this and other similar criminal justice programs to condition the processes through which the intimate relations that constitute family are being accomplished. Family becomes an object instrumental for purposes of official compliance even while that compliance is measured individually, outside of the family

relationship. In the official version, punishment itself is misrecognized as home confinement and intensive supervision rather than as the stressful process of membership at the intersection of criminal justice rationality and a localized family world. Thus we can see Community Control operating at the nexus of two competing systems of meaning—criminal justice and family—and, in effect, tying success to the two systems.

To summarize, the criminal justice system, whether operating as punishment or rehabilitation, forms its constituency, then reciprocally reproduces its own rationality through its application. By assuming that members understand the official version as distinct from the lived world of family roles and responsibilities, it appears as if families are duped into accepting a program in which all members are punished and, in too many cases, controllees themselves are doomed to fail. In that failure, it is likely that the wreckage of domestic disorder is left behind. Thomas Dumm (1996) criticizes this "ethics of freedom" that seduces individuals into thinking they are free while binding them to the world that controls them. Indeed, we hear family members voice suspicions of conspiracy between various professionals in the judicial system, and then lament as Controllee Emory did: ". . . it's totally different from what they say, from what they tell you when you're in jail, and from what the officers—what they tell you. It's a totally different thing." We hear their pessimism, fueled by cultural myths of officers who "get harder when you're close to the end." We hear them say: "It's [violation] going to happen anyway." Yet, through their participation, whether they articulate it as coercion or not, they reproduce the institution that controls their domestic world.

Shifting the Emphasis to the Intersection

Donald Cochran (1992), writing about various forms of "intermediate sentences" that include programs of home confinement and intensive supervision, includes the challenge that, if we are to get out of the morass that currently constitutes criminal justice, we must stop building programs on "the sands of illusion" in which the symbolism of get-tough politics screens the realities of the programs (p. 309). But what are the alternatives? Common sense appeals to the need for social controls to maintain social solidarity and protect publics from those who would endanger their safety. Yet those who view the competing worlds of family and criminal justice as a policy problem position community (i.e. family) as a residual, not necessarily extraneous to the program, but getting in the way of its application. For controllees and family members, on the other hand, criminal justice is the residual in the moral order of "familying."

We see, then, how success, as demonstrated by official compliance, is tied to these two seemingly separate, yet inseparable worlds—the problematic in question. Knowing and understanding the linkage between these worlds produces knowledge that constitutes a third system of understanding, one that presages more equitable practices. In other words, there is a way to use what is common to both worlds to generate a process-oriented approach emphasizing success instead of violation. Writing the "Afterword" of their volume on Foucault, Herbert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (1983) put it like this: "If one sees how new systems of practices are formed by focusing on practices that are already present but do not count as real, we can go beyond Foucault [and the archaeology of single systems] and see how an ethical system can come into existence

and thus how a new ethical system might emerge" (p. 263). In this effort, the mundane world of family troubles takes frontstage. In the official version of the present program, troubles do not count as real. In an inverted system, they produce the programming. The rationale is summarized by Dorothy Smith (1984) who says: "For each of us is an expert practitioner of our everyday world, knowledgeable in the most intimate ways of how it is put together and of its routine daily accomplishment" (p. 154).

Controllees freely articulate changes they feel would be beneficial to their families. Mostly, these changes would loosen the surveillance vice to relieve the pressures that hinder accomplishment of everyday familial responsibilities. The "good officer" model provides a prototype of the kind of respect for local family culture that needs to be emphasized. Similarly, the "good family" model would emerge through scheduling around current familial roles and responsibilities, sensitive to the differentials of individual family circumstances. The "good system" would need to talk to other systems and operate as a multisystem of support toward success. Perhaps most importantly, officers would be charged with managing compliance at the juncture of policy and the particular familial experiences in question rather than monitoring violation within an all-encompassing carceral.

The new system would emphasize the processes at the heart of the officer-controllee relationship instead of concentrating on its form. It would idealize neither punishment nor rehabilitation in the traditional sense, but would remain continually open to the different experiences of controllees as responsible family members. It would emphasize connectedness and community rather than measurement and isolation. And, it

would move the social relations of families "from the margin to the center" (hooks, 1984) of both criminal justice and family worlds.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1989) envisions change similarly. He says: "To change the world, one has to change the ways of world-making, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced" (p. 23). One way to approach this new system is to examine, as I have, the "rules that do not count," to locate the moral space in which meanings are articulated and the everyday is practiced, and then to find the common spaces of meaning. The members who participated in this study have given us a start.

APPENDIX A
CONSENT FORMS

UFIRB Project #97.070

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE: PRINCIPAL MEMBER

My name is Sylvia Ansay and I am a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Florida. I am doing a research study of families of offenders sentenced to Community Control. I am interested in understanding how CC affects families as they go about making changes in their lives. My work will be supervised by my professor, Dr. Jaber Gubrium, a sociologist from the University. It will be used to fulfill the research requirements for my degree.

You are invited to participate in this study as I try to learn more about how families manage their daily lives within the conditions of the sentence. If you agree to participate, I will interview you on at least one occasion. During that interview, which will last approximately an hour to an hour and a half, you will be asked to talk about your life before and since the sentence was implemented. You will not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. Although the interview(s) will be audio-taped and combined with interviews of other families on CC, the tapes will be coded so that your privacy is protected. The code sheets and the tapes will be kept in a secure storage at the University of Florida and will be erased within one year of completion of the project. Neither the tapes nor their codes and transcriptions will be shared with any agents of the court system. Only my professor, Dr. Jaber Gubrium and I will have access to this data.

I will also request the voluntary participation of other family members. I would interview each of them privately asking questions similar to those I ask you. These interviews will also be audio-taped and kept confidential to the extent provided by law. Family members will not bepermitted to hear each other's recorded interviews or to see the transcripts. At later date, however, I would like to meet with all members together to hear more about life as a family on CC. The interview data will be combined with that of 30-40 other families so that specific information will not be tied to you or to your family. When the report is completed, you will have the opportunity to see it and discuss it with me if you wish. My hope is that this research will benefit you as a family in seeing how your situation compares to others who have faced similar conditions of intensive supervision and restrictions. It will also give policy-makers a better understanding of how CC affects whole families.

The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used. This study is covered by the Federal Certificate of Confidentiality which means that your responses cannot be used against you or a member of your family and my records cannot be subpoenaed. All information about you and your family will be kept confidential except for information on current child abuse, or from which I believe that you or anyone else is in imminent physical danger. However, I will not ask you directly

about these things because they are not important to the study. Also, this certificate does not cover information that you or a member of your family voluntarily share with people outside of this research study.

If you have any questions, you may contact me or Dr. Jaber Gubrium in the Department of Sociology at the University (352) 392-0265. Any concerns about your rights as a participant may be directed to: UFIRB office, Box 112250, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250. Your decision to participate or not participate will not prejudice your relations with the Department of Corrections or the Court. If you decide to participate, you are completely free to withdraw consent and discontinue participation at any time without consequence.

****

I agree to voluntarily participate in the study of families on community control (CC). My signature indicates that I have read the procedure described and I have received a copy of this description. I voluntarily agree to participate in the interview and family group discussion procedure. There are no anticipated risks for me or my family. My participation is not tied to the Department of Corrections or the Courts, and it will not influence the terms of my sentence in any way. I will not be compensated for participation. I do not have to answer any questions that I do not wish to answer, and I may withdraw my participation without prejudice at any time after signing this form.

Participant:_____ Date: _____

Investigator: _____ Date: _____

UFIRB Project #97.070

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE: FAMILY MEMBER

My name is Sylvia Ansay and I am a graduate student at the University of Florida. I am conducting a research study of families of offenders on community control (CC). The study is being done to fulfill the dissertation requirements of my doctoral degree. I hope that from this study we can learn how CC affects families as they make changes in their lives. My work will be supervised by my professor, Dr. Jaber Gubrium, at the University.

You are invited to participate in this study. You were selected because the person on CC in your household has agreed to participate. If you agree to participate, I will interview you on at least one occasion to talk about your life before and since the CC restrictions were implemented. You would not have to answer any questions you chose not to answer. I will interview you and other family members privately. Other family members would not hear your recorded interviews or to see the transcripts. At later date, I would like to meet with all members together to talk further about life as a family on CC. The interviews, which would last approximately an hour to an hour and a half, would be audio-taped, and kept confidential to the extent provided by law. The tapes will be coded so that your privacy is protected. The tapes and the codes will be kept in a secure storage at the University of Florida, and will be erased within one year of completion of the project. The interview data will be combined with that of 30 - 40 other families so that specific information would not be tied to you or your family. When the report is completed, you will have the opportunity to see it and discuss it with me if you wish.

The results of the research study may be published, but your name will not be used. This study is covered by the Federal Certificate of Confidentiality which means that no responses can be used against you or a member of your family and my records cannot be subpoenaed. All information about you and your family will be kept confidential, except for information on current child abuse, or from which I believe that you or anyone else is in imminent physical danger. However, I will not ask you directly about these things because they are not important to the study. Also, this certificate does not cover information that you or a member of your family voluntarily share with people outside of this research study.

My hope is that this research will benefit you as a family in seeing how your situation compares to others who have faced similar conditions of intensive supervision and restrictions. It will also give policy-makers a better understanding of how CC affects the whole family.

If you have any questions, you may contact me or my supervising professor, Dr. Jaber Gubrium, in the Department of Sociology at the University (352) 392-0265. Any concerns about your rights as a participant may be directed to: UFIRB office, Box 112250, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250. Your decision to participate or not participate will not prejudice your or your family member's relations with the Department of Corrections or the Court. If you decide to participate, you are completely free to withdraw consent and discontinue participation at any time without consequences.

****

I agree to voluntarily participate in the study of families on community control (CC). I am related to Principal Participant as _____. I have read the procedure described on page one and I have received a copy of this description. I voluntarily agree to participate in the interview and family group discussion procedure. There are no anticipated risks for me or my family. My participation is not tied to the Department of Corrections or the Courts. I will not be compensated for my participation. I do not have to answer any questions that I do not wish to answer, and I may withdraw my participation without prejudice at any time after signing this form.

Participant: _____ Date: _____

Investigator:_____ Date: _____

UFIRB Project #97.070

CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION OF MINOR

Dear Parent or Guardian:

I would like permission for your child(ren) to participate with other family members in a research study of families in which the breadwinner is sentenced to community control (CC). Participation would involve an in-depth interview of approximately an hour to an hour and a half with your child(ren) during which he/she (they) would be asked to talk about his/her (their) life in relation to CC. Neither you nor other family members would hear the child's (children's) interviews, tapes, or see the transcripts of the tapes. At a later time, however, the child(ren) would be involved with other family members in a group discussion about living with CC restrictions. The interview and family group meeting would be audio-taped, however no one other than me or my supervisor, Dr. Jaber Gubrium at the University of Florida, would have access to the tapes or transcripts. There is no greater risk for your child(ren) in this process than in the writing or speaking activities at school. I will be the interviewer, and the questions asked of her/him (them) will be similar to those I ask you. As with other family members, the child(ren)'s participation is voluntary. He/she (they) do not have to answer any question(s) he/she (they) do not wish to answer. He/she (they) is (are) free to withdraw consent at any time without consequences even after this permission is given.

My hope is that this research will benefit you as a family in seeing how your situation compares to others who have faced similar conditions of intensive supervision and restrictions. It will also give poicy-makers a better understanding of how CC affects whole families.

If you decide to give permission for your child(ren) to participate, I will discuss the research with the child and obtain his/her (their) verbal consent.

****

My child(ren) is (are) allowed to voluntarily participate in this study of families on community control. I understand the nature of the requested participation and have received a copy of this explanation. There is no anticipated risk to the child (children). He/she (they) may withdraw at any time without consequences. Moreover, I may withdraw my consent for his/her (heir) participation at any time without consequences. The child(ren) will not be compensated for participating in this research.

_____

Parent/Guardian signature Date

_____ _____

Parent/Witness signature Date

_____ _____

Investigator's signature Date

APPENDIX B
SARAH'S POEM

If life was like a sparrow

Flying high in the sky

I could see Jesus in the blink of an eye.

Heaven is high.

Hell is low.

I could see Jesus with his white glow

Looking down at a saddened face

God lets us take life at our own pace.

He knows this world is full of sin

Oh, dear lord, can you save me because I stepped in.

If we trust in God

Like he trusts in us,

This world wouldn't be in such a fuss.

Oh, God, I'm in your hands.

You only know what life has planned.

Turn yourself on God

If you repent, he will forgive you with a simple nod.

Fly away sparrow, for God is good.

He would give everyone eternal life if he could.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sylvia Joanne Ansay, the youngest of nine children, was born in rural Wisconsin in 1939. Her parents, Otto and Margaret Krier, operated a small dairy farm near Cedar Grove, about 45 miles north of Milwaukee. After her father's death in 1942, her mother continued to operate the family farm until her retirement in 1965.

Ansay graduated valedictorian from Random Lake High School in Random Lake, Wisconsin, in 1957. She attended Marquette University in Milwaukee, and graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in education from Alverno College in Milwaukee in 1961. She received a Master's degree in supervision and curriculum from the University of Michigan in 1966. Following her marriage to Richard Ansay in 1961, she taught elementary and middle school for 15 years, first in Oregon, Illinois, then in Lapeer, Michigan, and Port Washington, Wisconsin. Later, she joined her husband in the management of their real estate and development firm. In 1988, she and Richard moved to Fort Myers, Florida where she worked as a volunteer Guardian ad Litem. Pursuing her interest in children, families, and the court system, she completed a Master's degree in criminology from The University of South Florida in 1993. She earned a doctorate in sociology from the University of Florida in 1999.

The Ansays have two children. A. Manette Ansay, a writer, lives with her husband, Jake Smith, in New York City. Michael, an attorney, lives with his wife, Carolyn Stroud Ansay, in West Palm Beach, Florida.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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